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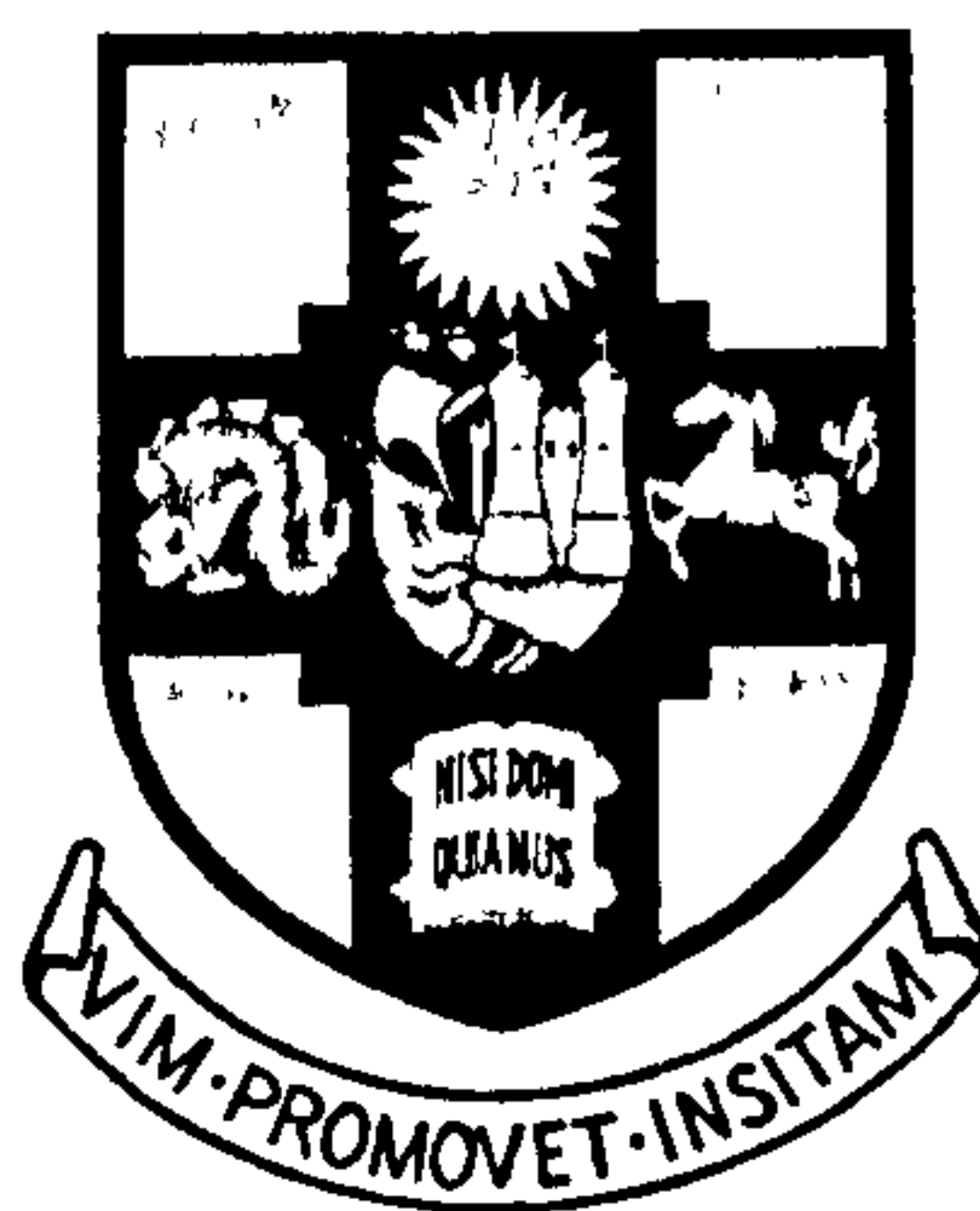
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THE GREAT ALTAR OF PERGAMON: THE MONUMENT IN ITS HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

**Vol. I
(Text)**

ANTONIA STELLA FAITA

**“A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol
in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Ph.D.
in the Faculty of Arts”**

**Department of Classics and Ancient History
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ABSTRACT

Since the day of its discovery (1878) the Great Altar of Pergamon has been evaluated for its aesthetic and stylistic contribution to Greek art. The aim of this thesis is to study the monument not merely from an art-historical point of view but within its historical and cultural context. The intention is to view the Pergamene monument as a characteristic example of the Hellenistic age and in relation to the Attalids as Hellenistic rulers.

It is divided into five chapters. The first deals with the monument itself and the various theories regarding the date of its inception, the number of sculptor/s employed and the theories of interpretation so far suggested. The second chapter examines certain aspects of Attalid policies such as: military history and foreign relations, coinage, cults and festivals, ruler-cult, art and building programme, and finally patronage of learning. The third and fourth chapters deal with the friezes of the monument - the Gigantomachy and Telephos frieze respectively. They examine the iconographic tradition of the myths depicted, the current literature on the style of the friezes, some difficulties with currently accepted theories are noted and new theories advanced. The fifth and final chapter is divided into two parts. The first part points out the elements of the artist's technique that make the monument a characteristic example of the Hellenistic Aesthetic. The second part examines how the imagery on the monument was manipulated by the Attalid kings in their search for self-definition. Their case is examined against the examples of 5th century BC Athens and 1st century BC Augustan Rome.

*To those whose love and support
made this thesis possible:
To my parents and Michael*

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Unless otherwise stated, references to the extant plays are to the Loeb editions. Tragic fragments, except those of Euripides, are cited from Radt's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*; vol. III for Aischylos, vol. IV for Sophokles. For Euripides' fragments the text referred to is A. Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 2 (for Auge), and C. Collard's, J. Cropp's and K.H. Lee's *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays*, vol. 1 (for Telephos). The abbreviations of the names of periodicals and series follow those of the *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991).

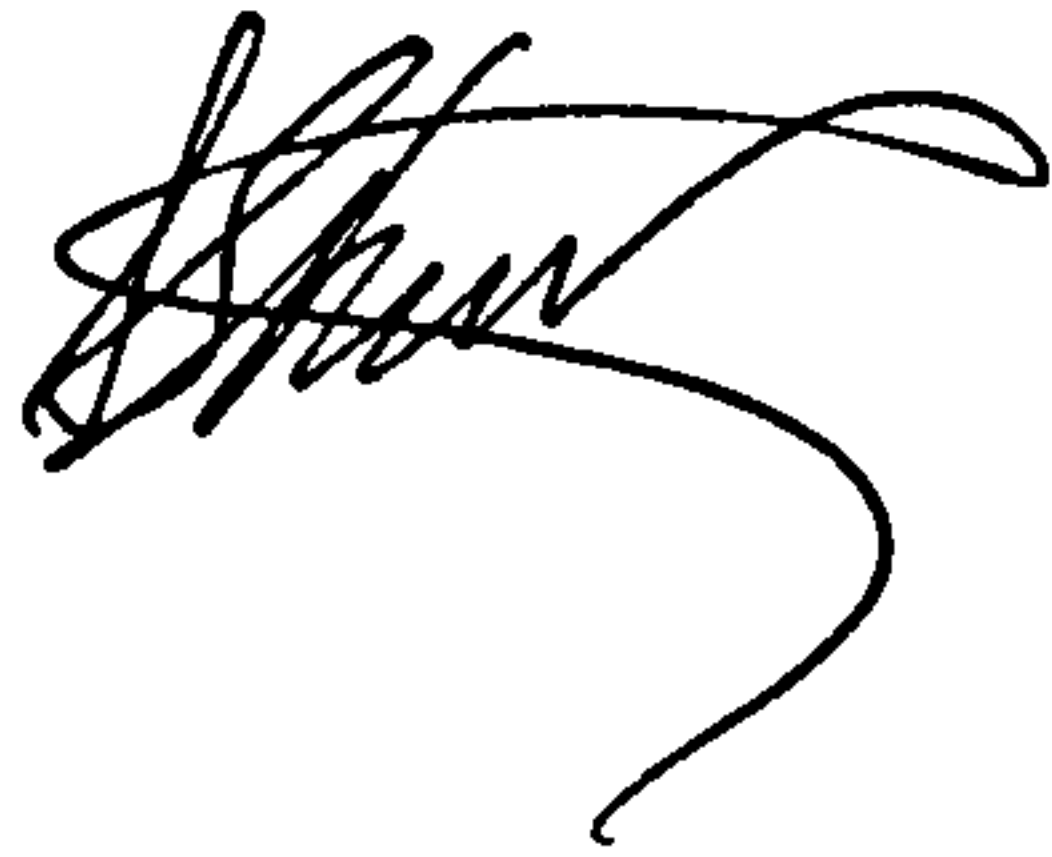
AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree.

Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol.

The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

SIGNED:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'J. Hunt', written over a horizontal line.

DATE:

31-08-2000

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INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of this century, the Great Altar of Pergamon and its sculptures excited the imagination of many eminent scholars. This interest in the monument was recently revived following excavation work at the site in the years between 1994-1996. The results of this intense scientific investigation are expected to appear shortly and are mainly concerned with the architectural reconstruction of the monument and the dating of the pottery material unearthed from the altar's foundation.

In view of the forthcoming publications, this thesis concentrates on the re-interpretation of the known sculptural material, and it is thus unlikely to be affected by the new research. The work has several aims. First, to provide for the first time in English all the relevant information concerning the altar, from the early excavations and publication to the latest research and forthcoming works (Chapter 1), summaries of the current literature on the frieze's reconstruction and stylistic analysis (Chapters 3-4). Second, it aims to provide the first updated and detailed description of the relief panels (Catalogue, vol. I), since the original publication in the *Altertümer von Pergamon*, accompanied by rich photographic material (vol. II). Third, the thesis advances several new theories on the reconstruction and interpretation of the sculpted friezes using a combination of iconographic, literary, and historical evidence (Chapters 3-4). Finally, it makes the first attempt to study the artist's technique as an example of Hellenistic aesthetics, and the way the imagery was used by the Attalids to project their own image of self-glorification by a careful study of the political background, the religious context of the monument, its philosophical overtones and artistic strategies (Chapter 5).

CHAPTER I

THE MONUMENT

The aim of this chapter is to set out facts about the altar - its discovery, publication, and layout; also to provide an overview of research and theories on its date, dedication, sculptor(s) and function. An evaluation of these theories will be reserved for later in the work, after a more detailed presentation of the monument and its sculptures has been made.

Ancient Sources, Discovery, Excavations, Publication

Only a few relevant accounts of the altar survive from ancient times and even these are not always clear. The oldest reference to the altar probably appears in John's *Book of Revelation*.¹ The author addresses the congregation of the church of Pergamon saying that the city is Satan's home and the place where Satan has his throne. Despite the cryptic nature of John's statement, modern scholars tend to identify Satan's throne with the Great Altar, not only because of its throne-like plan but also because of the many serpent-legged giants that would have induced Christians to associate them with Satan.²

A further reference to the Pergamene altar is probably found in Pausanias' description of the altar of Zeus at Olympia which he compares to the altar, "made of the ashes of the victim's thighs", in Pergamon.³ Even though Pausanias does not directly refer to an altar of Zeus in Pergamon, it is believed that the comparison referred to an important monument in Pergamon that needed no further clarification. In the time of Pausanias the Great Altar was the only monument in the city that could fit this description.⁴ The first definite reference to the monument is found in L. Ampelius' *Liber Memorialis* (author dated ca. 3rd-4th century AD). Unlike the aforementioned references, here the description is unambiguous.⁵

"At Pergamon there is a great marble altar, 40 ft. high, and with extremely large sculptures; it (the sculptural decoration) consists of the battle of the giants". (8.14)

The monument was discovered in 1871 by the German engineer Carl Humann who was working at the time as a surveyor for the Turkish government. He immediately notified E. Curtius, the Director of the Antiquarium, urging him to organise an

¹Dated to 1st century AD; 2.12-13.

²R. North, "Thronus Satanae pergamenus" *VD* 28 (1956) 65-76; W. Brandes, "Apokalyptisches in Pergamon" *Byzantinoslavica* 47 (1987) 9; H.J. Schalles "Rezeptionsgeschichtliche Nachlese zum Pergamonaltar" *Modus in Rebus. Gedenkschrift für Wolfgang Schindler* eds. D. Rösler, V. Stürmer (Berlin: Mann 1995) 188-189.

³5.13.8; dated to 2nd century AD.

⁴E. Ohlemutz, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* (1940; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968); V. Kästner, "The Architecture of the Great Altar and the Telephos frieze", *Pergamon: The citadel of the gods* (1998) 143-144; A.Y. Collins "Pergamon in early Christian literature", *Pergamon: The citadel* (1998) 164-184, esp. 166-176.

⁵S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 3rd edition (Oxford: University Press 1996) s.v. Ampelius.

archaeological expedition to the site. The monument was excavated during the years 1878-1886 under the auspices of the Berlin Museum. The results of the findings and a restoration plan were presented by R. Bohn, the excavation architect, in the preliminary reports published in 1880 and 1888.⁶

The official publication of the altar's architecture was presented by J. Schrammen in the series *Altertümer von Pergamon* in 1906.⁷ The publication included Bohn's records of the excavations and Schrammen's own conclusions based on the subsequent excavations on the west slope of the acropolis in 1902 and 1903. Bohn's records together with O. Puchstein's studies of the Gigantomachy frieze's arrangement (1888-1889), and H. Schrader's investigations of the sacrificial altar (1899) and the Telephos frieze - including its architectural integration into the altar structure – were the basis for the first museum reconstructions of the monument.⁸

The Great Altar has recently been the focus of intense scientific investigation. Archaeological work at the altar's foundations between the years 1994-1996, undertaken by W. Radt and G. de Luca, resulted in the measuring and redrawing of the foundations and in the unearthing of ceramic material not previously known. At the time of this thesis' preparation the conclusive results of the latest excavations had not been published. The publication, by de Luca and Radt, of the ceramic material is expected to appear in the series *Pergamenische Forschungen*. The work is also expected to contain a comprehensive bibliography for the altar along with summaries of content. Furthermore, a publication by M. Klinkott and V. Kästner on the architecture and reconstruction of the Great Altar is expected to appear in the series *Altertümer von Pergamon*, which will also include full drawing and documenting of the site.

The restoration of the reliefs of the Telephos frieze during 1995-1996 and the exhibition catalogues published in connection with this have produced a number of new findings. Schraudolph published a preliminary report of these in 1996.⁹ Some of the

⁶R. Bohn, "Die Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon und ihre Ergebnisse. Vorläufiger Bericht" *JPKS* 1 (1880) 156-65; idem "Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon 1883-1886. Vorläufiger Bericht" *JPKS* 9 (1888) 47.

⁷J. Schrammen, "Der grosse Altar. Der obere Markt" *Altertümer von Pergamon* vol. 3.1 (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906). For the letter to Curtius see E. Schulte *Der Pergamonaltar. Entdeckt, beschrieben und gezeichnet von Carl Humann. Schriften der Hermann Bröckelschen-Stiftung Carl Humann zum Gedächtnis I* (Dortmund: Ardey-Verlag 1959) 10. For a summary of the history of the excavation campaigns see: C. Humann "Geschichte der Untersuchung. Vorläufiger Bericht" *JPKS* I (1880) 129-156; Schulte, *Der Pergamonaltar*; idem *Chronik der Ausgrabung von Pergamon, 1871-1886. Schriften der Hermann-Bröckelschen-Stiftung Carl Humann zum Gedächtnis II* (Dortmund: Ardey-Verlag 1959); U. Kästner, "Excavation and assembly of the Telephos frieze" in *Pergamon: The Telephos frieze from the Great Altar* eds. R. Dreyfus, E. Schraudolph (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco 1996) 19-27, esp. 22-27 and bib.

⁸O. Puchstein, "Zur pergamenischen Gigantomachie" *SPAW* (1888) 1231-1249, and (1889) 323-345; H. Schrader, "Die Opferstätte des pergamenischen Altars" *SPAW* 6 (1899) 612-625; idem "Die Anordnung und Deutung des pergamenischen Telephosfrieses" *JdI* 15 (1900) 97-135. For individual works on the Gigantomachy and Telephos friezes see respectively Chapters 3 and 4.

⁹For the preliminary comments see E. Schraudolph, "Die Restaurierung der Frieze vom Pergamonaltar" *JhrBerMus.* (1996) 169-184; H. Koester, *Pergamon. Citadel of the gods. Archaeological record, literary description and religious development*, Harvard Theological Studies 46 (Pennsylvania: Trinity Press international 1998). For the exhibition catalogues see: R. Dreyfus and E. Schraudolph, *Pergamon: The Telephos frieze from the Great Altar*, 2 vols. (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco 1996-

results of the 1994-1996 excavations have been published in the form of articles which will be, where appropriate, cited accordingly.

Topography and Architecture

The terrace of the Great Altar was situated on the Pergamene acropolis, south of and below the temple of Athena, along the main road above the agora (Map 1). For the construction of the monument, the terrain was levelled into a terrace by cutting down the bedrock on the north side. The old city-wall had to be relocated to the west to achieve a depth for the terrace of at least 70m (200 feet). On the north side, below the rocky slope, the remains of a long podium to which were attached further buildings, have been recovered. Unfortunately, however, their function cannot be identified.¹⁰

The monument was oriented E/W; entrance facing west. Its reconstruction has been rendered possible due to the mason's marks found on the ancient dressed blocks. A system was devised of a combination of Greek letters to enable the ancient builders to follow the architect's plan; the first letter for counting, the second indicating location.¹¹

The attempt to reconstruct the Pergamene altar from its numerous remains clearly shows that it was an exceptionally complex structure. It was made out of a bluish-white crystalline marble. As there is insufficient evidence to indicate that the marble used was taken from local quarries it has been argued that it was imported into Pergamon. Geo-scientific analysis of samples taken from the Telephos frieze indicates a close isotopic similarity with Naxian marble and marbles of the Marmara region (Fig. 1).¹²

The dimensions of the building are 36.80m on the east and west sides and 34.20m on the north and south.¹³ The almost square monument was built on a layer of square stones of andesite laid over the remains of an earlier apsidal structure. It consists of one single room, enclosed by straight walls on the north and south but by an apse on the east; the west side does not survive. Greek shrines with an apse at one end are quite rare and in fact the ones known are mostly dedicated to the Kabeiroi.¹⁴ The earlier theories on the Pergamene apsidal structure advocated that it was a temple dedicated to the Kabeiroi.¹⁵

1997); W.D. Heilmeyer, *Der Pergamonaltar. Die neue Präsentation nach Restaurierung des Telephosfrieses*, Katalog Staatliche Museen Berlin, Antikensammlung (Tübingen-Berlin: Wasmuth 1997).

¹⁰V. Kästner, "The Architecture of the Great Altar and the Telephos frieze", *Pergamon* vol. II, 69.

¹¹Kästner (1996) 69.

¹²Fig. 1: T. Cramer, K. Germann, F.J. Winkler, "Characteristics of the Telephos frieze marble", *Pergamon: The Telephos frieze from the Great Altar*, vol. 2 eds. R. Dreyfus, E. Schraudolph (California: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996) 155-158, fig. 2. See also K. Germann, G. Gruben, H. Knoll, V. Valis, and F.J. Winkler, "Provenance Characteristics of Cycladic (Paros and Naxos) Marbles: A Multivariate Geological Approach", in *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade*, eds. N. Herz and M. Waelkens (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers 1988) 251-262; H. Norman, "The Oxygen and Carbon Isotopic Data Base for Classical Marble", in *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade*, eds. N. Herz and M. Waelkens (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers 1988) 305-314.

¹³Kästner (1998) 148.

¹⁴The earliest to be excavated was the temple of the Kabeiroi on Samothrake; then the Kabeirion at Thebes, and the one in Delos; for a discussion on these buildings see H. Leroux, *Les origines de l'edifice hypostyle* (Paris, 1913) 206-209. For more bibliography on the Kabeiria see E.V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (New York: Cornell University Press 1947) 224-225 n. 18.

¹⁵H. Posnansky, "Nemesis und Adrasteia", *Breslauer Philologie Abh.* V.2 (1890) esp. 174; G. Bruns "Umbaute Götterfelsen als kultische Zentren in Kulträumen und Altären" *Jdl* 75 (1960) 100-111.

Cook, in 1914, suggested that it was a sanctuary of Zeus using as evidence an old legend mentioned by an oracle of Klarian Apollo.¹⁶ According to this oracle "in the days of old the Kabeiroi had attended the birth of Zeus by the Great Mother Goddess on the top of the town hill".

Boehringer and Stähler, though, suggested that this structure, as well as the Great Altar over it, was the sepulchral monument of the hero Telephos, the Pergamenes' mythical ancestor and founder of the city (see Chapter 2).¹⁷ More recent studies argue that the apsidal structure could have been a Nymphaion, a public building, or even a Pantheon.¹⁸ Recent excavation work at the altar's foundation revealed that the Pergamene builders demolished the western walls of the earlier building and levelled the site entirely before erecting the altar. Consequently, it is impossible to determine the function of the earlier building.¹⁹

The area surrounding the monument was not paved. However, as the layer of the andesite ashlar, over which the altar was laid, rises above the surrounding terrain it is believed that the *temenos* was originally intended to be paved but construction was unexpectedly terminated.²⁰ The altar consisted of a monumental platform set on a podium with two projecting wings on its western side (Fig. 2).²¹ The entrance, on the west, was through a great stairway (approximately 20m wide) of 24/25 steps, which rested on a four or five-stepped *krepidoma*. The wall of the podium was decorated with a large frieze (H: 2.30m, L: 120m) depicting the Gigantomachy.²² The great stairway led to the altar's upper structure which was surrounded by an Ionic colonnade supporting an Ionic entablature without a frieze.

¹⁶IvP 8.2 no. 324 p. 239, ll. 17-19, dated to ca. 166 AD; A.B. Cook, *Zeus: A study in ancient religion*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914) 1.119.

¹⁷E. Boehringer, F. Kraus, "Das Temenos für den Herrscherkult", *Altertümer von Pergamon* IX (Berlin, 1937) 3, n.4; K. Stähler, "Überlegungen zur architektonischen Gestalt des pergamonaltars" *Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörmer zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1976* eds. S. Sahin, E. Schwertheim, J. Wagner, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 2.838-67.

¹⁸Nymphaion: W. Hoepfner, "Von Alexandria über Pergamon nach Nikopolis: Städtebau und Stadtbilder in hellenistischer Zeit" *Akten des XIII. Internationalen kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz: Zabern, 1990) 280-282 fig. 4. Hoepfner suggested that a grotto of the god Pan and a sanctuary of the nymphs (apsidal structure) were situated on the south slope of the acropolis following the model of the Athenian acropolis. Full refutation of this and many other of Hoepfner's proposals must await the forthcoming official publication, by Radt and de Luca, of the 1994-1996 excavations (see above p. 3). Public building: K. Rheidt, "Die obere Agora: Zur Entwicklung des hellenistischen Stadtzentrums von Pergamon" *IstMitt.* 42 (1992) 279. Rheidt suggested that there was an earlier market place on the altar's terrace that had to be relocated to the site of the Upper Agora (see Map 1) for the altar's construction. He based his theory on the identification of the structure on the north slope of the terrace as a long market place; see also Radt (1998) 11. Pantheon: E. La Rocca, "Il Pantheon Hiera e la gloria degli Attalidi nel Grande Altar", *L'Altare di Pergamon: il fregio di Telefo* (Milan: Leonardo, 1996) 157. La Rocca, following Rheidt's trail of thought argued that the 12-room building, along the street leading to the citadel, was not actually part of the market but was a religious building dedicated to the 12 gods. Hence, he suggested that this later Pantheon was probably made to replace the earlier Pantheon at the site of the altar. For more information about these theories see also W. Radt: "Recent research in and about Pergamon: A survey (ca. 1987-1997)" *Pergamon: The citadel*, (1998) 5-7, 10-11.

¹⁹W. Radt, "Pergamon: vorbericht über die Kampagne 1994" *AA* (1995) 575-588; Radt (1998) 20.

²⁰Kästner, (1996) 69; (1998) 148; C. Humann, "Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon Vorläufiger Bericht" *JPKS* 1 (1880) 148.

²¹Fig. 2: Ground plan of the Great Altar; Kästner (1996) 71 fig.1 (Drawing Kästner).

²²For the Gigantomachy frieze see Chapter 3.

At least three variations of the Ionic capital were used on the external colonnade. Most of the surviving capital fragments belong to a type that has the sides of the capital decorated with four vertical grooves with flowers at the angles. The second type has the side-cushions bound together in the centre by a band of scales, out of which acanthus leaves grow; the cushion is decorated with concave tongue patterns. The third type, of which only one example survives, replaces the side-cushions with stylised thunderbolts similar to the ones depicted in the Gigantomachy frieze.²³

Behind the Ionic colonnade ran a narrow portico surrounding the altar's three-sided inner court. On the west side, instead of a wall, the inner court had two short spur walls ending in pilasters in antis. The court was surrounded on all sides by piers with attached double Ionic half-columns. Along the walls and the spur walls of the court ran a second frieze, smaller than the Gigantomachy, depicting the life and deeds of the hero Telephos (H: 1.30m, L: 60.60m, **Fig. 3**).²⁴ The entire monument was unroofed except for the external portico and the area between the Telephos frieze and the Ionic half-columns. Both porticoes were covered with plain, unadorned marble coffers, arranged in panels of two. They were raised a step higher above the sima of the roof and functioned as supports for statues (**Fig. 4**).²⁵

The sacrificial altar was situated in the centre of the inner court. Unfortunately, only 60 fragments (including corner slabs) of its entablature have survived but nothing of its base moulding, thus making its reconstruction difficult. According to Gerkan the monument had the shape of a rectangular stepped altar with lateral projections on the west, thus replicating, in effect, the plan of the Great Altar.²⁶ Based on the measurements of the crowning sima and taking into consideration the dimensions of the monument and the inner court, Kästner argues that the sacrificial altar probably had a length of 10m and a total height of 2.18m.²⁷ The elaborately decorated entablature of the altar consisted of three parts: a projecting sima decorated with lion-heads and acanthus scrolls; next, a high dentil and a frieze decorated with lotus flowers and palmettes; and finally a two-fasciae architrave consisting of a floral frieze, an egg-and-dart pattern, a Lesbian kymation, and a string of beads (**Fig. 5**).

Dowel holes and flat cuttings of rectangular or irregular shape were found on the upper surface of 15 preserved sima blocks from the sacrificial altar (**Fig. 6.1**).²⁸ According

²³Cf. e.g.: Cat. nos. 6 (panel 11), 20.2; E. Schraudolph, "Sculpture and architectural fragments Cat. nos. 1-35", *Pergamon* vol. 1, Cat. nos. 29 (type B), 31 (type C); Kästner, (1998) 151.

²⁴**Fig. 3:** Section through the southern wall of the Great Altar reconstructing part of the Telephos frieze (Cat. no. 69; S/W spur wall) running along the walls of the inner court; from Kästner (1996) 76 fig.6. For the Telephos frieze see Chapter 4.

²⁵Schrammen *AvP* 3.1, 44-45. The depth of the porticoes is 1.50m and 1.25m for the outer and inner colonnade respectively. The coffer blocks are rectangular and measure 0.50m (for the outer portico) and 0.42m (for the inner portico). **Fig. 4:** W. Hoepfner, "Model of the Pergamon Altar", *Pergamon* 2 (1996) 62 fig.3.

²⁶H. Schrader, "Die Opferstätte des pergamenischen Altars", *SPAW* 6 (July 1899) 612-625; Schrammen, *AvP* 3.1, 67-75, pls. 16-17; A. von Gerkan, *Zur Aufstellung der Architekturen im Museumneubau* (manuscript 1926) in Kästner (1996) 78, n.22.

²⁷Kästner (1998) 159.

²⁸**Fig. 6.1:** Hoepfner, "Model", (1996) 65 fig. 6.

to Schrammen, these traces are evidence that statuary was affixed on the altar's upper surface.²⁹ Schrammen's view was accepted by Hoepfner, who went even further, reconstructing the figures from the Lesser Attalid monument (Chapter 2) on the upper surface of the sacrificial altar's cornice (Fig. 6.2).³⁰ He based his argument on the belief that the cuttings on the altar's cornice seem to correspond to the outline of the plinths of some of the reclining figures of Gauls. Hoepfner further suggested that there would have been no burnt sacrifices as these would damage the statues on the rim of the walls.

Gerkan, however, rejected the idea claiming that burnt sacrifices were offered at the altar and as the smoke would have damaged the statues the Pergamenes would not have opted for such an aesthetically challenged solution.³¹ Kästner, agreeing with Gerkan, argued that the flat cuttings and dowel holes were used to affix some kind of a protective element (e.g. packed earth, metal seal) against the fire from the burnt offerings. In support of his argument he presented a bronze coin of Septimius Severus (dated ca. 197-211 AD) depicting on its reverse the altar proper (the sacrificial altar in the interior court) protected by a canopy-like structure (Fig. 7).³² Kästner argues that the canopy structure could not have been an artistic invention as the engraver of the coin-die, remaining true to realism, went to considerable lengths in depicting the detailed decoration of the supporting columns and the grid-like pattern of the canopy structure.³³ He also rejected Hoepfner's reconstruction, claiming that the addition of statues would have resulted in a very tight and odd arrangement of the statues. Further research on the controversy must await Klinkott's and Kästner's publication of the architecture and reconstruction of the Great Altar following the results of the 1994-1996 excavations.

Amongst the most contentious issues in modern scholarship regarding the Great Altar is its sculptural decoration. Apart from the two sculpted friezes which can be definitely included in the original plan of the monument, a number of other statues have been attributed to its decoration.

During the excavations 30 over-life-size female statues were found in the area. They were dressed in a *peplos* and were depicted seated or standing upright. Their relatively good state of preservation and the absence of any cuttings, indicating that they were embedded on the roof, prompted scholars to argue that they must have been placed behind the columns of the upper story, originally numbering 71 in total.³⁴ However, as no traces of pedestals for these statues have been found on the related architectural pieces their reconstruction within the altar's colonnade remains doubtful.³⁵

A number of under-life-size statues found in the excavations of the altar terrace and surrounding areas have been classified as roof sculpture: five gods, a griffin, two Tritons,

²⁹Schrammen, *AvP* 3.1., 67-75 pls. 16-17.

³⁰Fig. 6.2: Hoepfner, "Model" (1996) 64-67, fig. 7. See also Radt (1998) 22 n 101.

³¹Gerkan, 81 n.27.

³²Fig. 7: Münzekabinett in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Kästner (1998) pl.23.

³³Kästner (1998) 156, see also n. 27 for a list of altars with canopy-like coverings.

³⁴Schrader (1899) 612-625; W. Hoepfner, "Zu den grossen Altären von Magnesia und Pergamon" *AA* (1989) 626-627 n.37, figs. 26-27; Hoepfner (1996) 60-62, n.11, fig.5.

³⁵No cuttings or dowel holes used for statuary support were found on the frieze's cornice; Radt (1998) 22-23.

and a lion.³⁶ Their weathered state indicates that they stood outdoors, thus inducing the excavators to argue that they once stood on the ledge of the porticoes' roof. Their argument was supported by the discovery of a roof block bearing the impression of a statue's plinth.³⁷

In addition to these statues, fragments of 16 horses looking side-ways were found on the east side of the altar.³⁸ According to Heres they were grouped in fours as parts of quadrigas and they probably also stood on the ledge of the roof on the east side of the altar.³⁹ Finally, Hoepfner suggested that behind the external colonnade on the west and in front of the two pilasters in antis, low socles were placed as bases for statues, either equestrian statues of the royal donors or bulls.⁴⁰ In support of his argument he presented the same coin of Septimius Severus (Fig. 7) which depicted on its reverse two humped bulls standing on two large pedestals in front of the altar proper.

In 1996 an interesting theory on the plan of the altar's inner court was proposed by Hoepfner.⁴¹ He argued that the inner court with its columns standing on pedestals and the frieze depicted on the walls behind them was essentially replicating the architecture of the Banqueting Hall of Palace V. His arguments were immediately refuted on the ground that Palace V was probably commenced after completion of the Great Altar.⁴²

Certain elements of the altar's architecture and the Telephos frieze indicate that the monument was never completed.⁴³ As noted earlier, the area surrounding the monument

³⁶F. Winter, "Die Skulpturen, mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs" *Altertümer von Pergamon* 7 (1908) 163-164 pl. 35.146 (Athena), 164-165 pl.35.147 (Apollo), 165, pl. 35.148 (female deity), 165-167 pl.36.149 (Poseidon), 167.150 (Dionysos), 172 Beib. 23.164 (griffin), 172-173.165 (lion), 173-174 Beib. 24.166 (Tritons). M. Kunze, "Beobachtungen zum Dachschnuck des Pergamonaltars" *Nürnberg Blätter zur Archäologie* 10 (1993-4) 41-60. Hoepfner (1996, 67) argued that Centaurs were also included in the roof's statuary. However, the two centaurs he reconstructed were found at the Asklepieion and not the site of the altar; Radt (1998) 23.

³⁷*AvP* 3.1, 44-45, 76-77, pl. 17.1. Hoepfner (1996) 60, 64-65.

³⁸Winter, 169-176, Beib. 22-23 nos. 151-152, 156-158.

³⁹H. Heres, "Zum freiplastischen Schmuck des Pergamonaltars" *Wir haben eine ganze kunststepoche gefunden: Ausstellungskatalog Pergamonmuseum Berlin* (Berlin: Pergamon Museum 1987) 55-57.

⁴⁰Hoepfner, "Model" (1996) 62.

⁴¹W. Hoepfner and Brands, *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige. Symposion Berlin 1992* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern 1996) 19-26; W. Hoepfner "The Architecture of Pergamon" *Pergamon II*, 53-58. Hoepfner reconstructed a number of marble reliefs, depicting a Gigantomachy (Fig. 8.1), an Ilioupersis (Fig. 8.2) and scenes from the life of Telephos (Fig. 8.3) on the walls of the columned hall of Palace V (Fig. 8: Photos by A.S. Fanta). However, no architectural evidence has been found in the area to support his ideas; Radt (1998) 9. A. Schober attributed these relief panels to the propylon of Athena's sanctuary; "Zur Datierung eumenischer Bauten" *Öjh* 32 (1940) 160-168.

⁴²Work at Palace V is thought to have commenced after the termination of building work at the site of the altar because a number of remodelled coffer fragments and a ceiling panel were found both in the palace and the gymnasium terrace. It is thought that these fragments must have been intended for the unfinished colonnade of the court or for the western colonnade which would have been left open for the building material to be transported in the inner court; G. Kawerau and T. Wiegand, "Die Paläste der Hochburg" *AvP* 5.1, (1930) 12-14, 17-22, 35, Pls. 2-3; E. Boehringer, A. von Szalay, "Die hellenistischen Arsenale" in *AvP* 10 (Berlin 1937) 27; A. Ippel, "Kawerau und Wiegand, Altertümer von Pergamon" 8 *Gnomon* (1932) 351-352; Kästner (1996) 72-73; idem (1998) 142-143, where he suggests that Palace V was built by Attalos II; Radt (1998) 8-9, 23; see also Chapter 2 *Building Activity* p. 45. U. Wulf-Rheidt suggests a different reconstruction of Palace V from that proposed by Hoepfner; *Hellenistische und römische Wohnhäuser* (forthcoming).

⁴³Hoepfner is the only one who has claimed, against the existing consensus, that the Great Altar was a completely finished structure; W. Hoepfner, "Der vollendete Pergamonaltar" *AA* (1996) 115-134; Radt (1998) 23.

was probably intended to be paved but work never began. The colonnade of the inner court remained unfinished (only the west front was erected) probably to allow more light and space for the sculptors carving the inner frieze in situ.⁴⁴ Some of the slabs of the inner Telephos frieze also bear evidence that work was unexpectedly terminated; e.g. Cat. no. 35 (Auge's skiff has not been smoothed out), Cat. no. 37 (the surface near the tree on the top right corner was left coarse).⁴⁵

The complicated plan of the Great Altar prompted Hoepfner to propose the architect Hermogenes as the monument's chief-designer.⁴⁶ In support of this Hoepfner argues that the plan of the altar's foundation follows a grid-like execution typical for Hermogenes' buildings; that the spacing of the columns in the external colonnade is the one favoured by Hermogenes (diastyle); that the Ionic capitals are of Hermogenic proportions; and that the pictorial devices on the cushions, even though rare, were used by him also on the Artemision at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander. Hoepfner's proposal has met with wide opposition. However a full refutation of his arguments must await the publication of the results of the 1994-1996 excavations.⁴⁷

Donor

Two fragments of the architrave with remains of the dedicatory inscription were found at the site of the altar.

[... ΒΑΣ]ΙΛ[Ι]ΣΣ[Η]Σ ... ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΟΙ] Σ ΑΓΑΘ[ΟΙΣ ...]⁴⁸
(= ... Queen ... for benefits bestowed ...)

The inscription was probably situated on the east side of the building. Owing to its poor state of preservation the name of the dedicator, the occasion of the dedication, and the deity/ies to whom the monument was consecrated cannot be determined. Nevertheless, from what survives we are able to deduce that work on the monument began sometime during the reign of either Eumenes II (197-159 BC) or Attalos II (159-139 BC) as a thank offering for benefits bestowed them. This information is provided by the reconstructed word ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ (= queen) which can only refer to the first Attalid queen Apollonis, mother of both Eumenes II and Attalos II.⁴⁹ Consequently, the earliest possible date for the

⁴⁴Kästner, *Pergamon II*, 73, 77; P.A. Webb, *Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture: Figural motifs in western Anatolia and the Aegean islands* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996) 62.

⁴⁵See also Chapter 4; A. von Salis, *Der Altar von Pergamon. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des hellenistischen Barockstils in kleinasiens* (Berlin 1916) 93-95. See below section on date for the various suggestions concerning the altar's unfinished state.

⁴⁶W. Hoepfner, "Siegestempel und Siegesaltäre: der Pergamonaltar als Siegesmonument" in *Die griechische Polis: Architektur und Politik* (Tübingen: Wasmuth 1993) 111ff; Schwandner, "Beobachtungen zu hellenistischer Tempelarchitektur von Pergamon" *Hermogenes und die hochhellenistische Architektur. Colloquium Berlin 28-29 July 1988*, eds. W. Hoepfner, Schwandner (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1990) 27; W. Hoepfner, "The Architecture of Pergamon" *Pergamon II*, 46-57, fig. 241-c, 121-122; W. Hoepfner, "Model" 60 (on the diastyle proportions).

⁴⁷Radt (1998) 24.

⁴⁸M. Fränkel, "Die Inschriften von Pergamon" in *Altertümer von Pergamon* vol. 8.1 (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1890-1895) no. 69; Schraudolph, *Pergamon I*, Cat. no. 35.

⁴⁹IvP nos. 160 (Il. 29-30 Eumenes II); 168-169, 214-216 (Attalos II).

altar's erection is 197 BC (the year Eumenes II assumed the throne) and the latest possible date is 139 BC (the year of Attalos II's death).

Date and Occasion of dedication

Assigning a date to the monument has proved problematic. In the course of time various theories have been proposed for the date and occasion of the monument's inception. Three possible dates, in connection with contemporary historical events and/or archaeological evidence, have been proposed for the dedication. A late date, in the 160s after Eumenes' victory against the Gauls, was proposed as early as 1904 by Brueckner.⁵⁰ He pointed out that the version of the Telephos myth depicted on the frieze was related to contemporary events. The appearance there of Scythian allies of Telephos (Cat. no. 51), he argued, indicated that the Attalids had expanded their relations and influence in Thrace which would have been possible only after the fall of the Macedonian power (168 BC; battle of Pydna). In addition, he claimed that the introduction of a lioness, instead of a deer, suckling baby Telephos (Cat. no. 38) indicated that Pergamon's relations with Rome had already faded, something that could have only taken place after 172 BC.⁵¹

A date in the 160s was also advocated by Callaghan, following the study of pottery sherds unearthed from the altar's foundations during the excavations of Conze (1904) and Schäfer (1961).⁵² Callaghan's theory was confirmed by T.M. Schmidt who reached the same conclusions using ceramic material from the archives of the Pergamon Museum in Berlin.⁵³ Kunze also argued for a date in the 160s (especially 165 BC) by tying artistic themes from the Gigantomachy frieze to actual events.⁵⁴ For instance in the snake-entwined pot held by the figure in Cat. no. 26 (panel 85) he saw Hannibal's act of throwing poisonous snakes on the Pergamene ships at a naval battle in 183 BC.⁵⁵ Likewise, in the starburst shield in panel 56 (Cat. no. 19) he recognised the symbol of the Macedonian royal house and the third Macedonian War (172-168 BC) in which Pergamon sided with Rome and defeated the Macedonians at the battle of Pydna.⁵⁶

⁵⁰Polybius 30.30.4; IvP no. 165 (see also Chapter 2); A. Brueckner, "Wann ist der Pergamonaltar errichtet worden?" *AA* (1904) 218-224.

⁵¹Polybius 24.5.1-8; 29.6.4; Livy *Periochai* 46 (see also Chapter 2). His theory was accepted by: B. Andreae, *Phryomachos-Probleme: mit einem Anhang zur Datierung des grossen Altares von Pergamon* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern 1990); H. Heres, "The myth of Telephos in Pergamon" *Pergamon* II, 101; idem, "Der Telephosmythos in Pergamon" in *Der Pergamonaltar* (1997) 109.

⁵²P.J. Callaghan, "The Trefoil style and the second century Hadra vases" *BSA* 75 (1980) 33-47; idem. "On the date of the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon" *BICS* 28 (1981) 115-121; idem, "On the origin of the Long Petal Bowl" *BICS* 29 (1982) 63-80. J. Schäfer never published the results of his 1961 excavation. However his unpublished material was handed over to Radt and de Luca, who will, shortly, be publishing the results of Schäfer's work and the results of their 1994-1996 excavation in the *Pergamenische Forschungen* (see above p. 2).

⁵³T-M. Schmidt, "Der späte Beginn und der vorzeitige Abbruch der Arbeiten am Pergamonaltar" *Phryomachos-Probleme*, 141-162

⁵⁴M. Kunze, "Neue Beobachtungen zum Pergamonaltar" *RM Suppl.* 31 (1990) 123-139 esp. 137-138.

⁵⁵The location of the naval battle is unknown; Cornelius Nepos *Hannibal* 10-11.

⁵⁶For the military events see Chapter 2 *Macedonians* p. 20, and Table 1. For the starburst shield and its allusion see Chapter 5, Part A *Gigantomachy frieze*, Allegories section.

An earlier date in the 180s was extensively argued by Kähler.⁵⁷ He believed that work on the altar began after the victory against Ortiagon's Gauls in 184 BC, which was then followed by a period of relative peace, and coincided with the reorganisation of the Nikephoria festival and Eumenes II's programme to beautify the city (see Chapter 2).⁵⁸ Kähler's argument was challenged by Andreae who argued that the dedicatory inscription referred to "benefits received", thus indicating that the monument was the cumulative offering for many successes and not for a single one (victory over Ortiagon). Furthermore, Andreae argued that the Attalid victory over the Gauls of Ortiagon could hardly have been so important, especially as the Gauls were fighting the Attalids not on their own but as allies of Prusias of Bithynia.⁵⁹

Finally Radt and de Luca, following the results of the 1994-1996 excavations as well as the ones derived from the study of the ceramic material from Schafer's 1961 excavations, propose a date ca. 170 BC.⁶⁰

The unfinished state of the altar has given rise to a number of theories on the reasons why work on so important a monument was abruptly suspended. The most accepted dates so far have been the years 159 BC (death of Eumenes II) and 156 BC (the invasion of Pergamon by Prusias).⁶¹ Schmidt argued that Attalos II deliberately left the monument unfinished out of respect to Rome at a time when Rome's influence had revived in Asia Minor.⁶² Contrary to his theory, Webb noticed that so little of the monument actually remained unfinished that its state could not be intended to symbolise revived relations between Rome and Pergamon.⁶³

Kästner has argued that Eumenes' brother Attalos II had ample opportunity to finish work on his brother's monument but instead preferred to commission his own buildings; i.e. Palace V and the temple of Hera. According to Heres the raid of Prusias of Bithynia in 156 BC forced the Pergamenes to take the work force from the altar and put them into the massive task of reconstructing the destroyed buildings.⁶⁴

⁵⁷H. Kähler, *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon. Untersuchungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte Pergamons* (Berlin: Mann 1948).

⁵⁸M. Segre "Due nuovi testi storici" *Riv.Fil.* (1932) 446-452 (for the victory against the Gauls and Prusias). An earlier date in the 180s was also accepted by A. Stewart, *Attica: Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic age*, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Suppl. Paper 14 (London 1979) 23; H. Berve, *Greek temples, theatres and shrines* (New York, 1962) 486; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955) 113; H. Kähler, "Die Datierung des Altars von Pergamon" *FuF* 15 Jahrgang, no.23/24 (1939) 294-296; Kästner (1998) 140. G. Hübner, "Die Applikenkeramik von Pergamon" *PF* 7 (1993) 45; idem, "Calices Pergamon und die Scherbenfunde aus dem grosse Altar" in *Thirs colloquium on Hellenistic Ceramics Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki: Antiquities Dpt. 1994) 282-293; suggested an even earlier date (1st quarter of the 2nd century BC) on the basis of ceramics found by Schäfer in the 1961 excavations.

⁵⁹B. Andreae, "Dating and significance of the Telephos frieze in relation to the other dedications of the Attalids of Pergamon" *Pergamon II*, 121-126; Segre, 446-452.

⁶⁰The publication of their results is forthcoming in the series *Pergamenische Forschungen*; Radt (1998) 21.

⁶¹Kästner (1998) 141-3.

⁶²Schmidt (1990) 141-162. His argument was that the Altar intended to show that Pergamon was stronger than Rome and that she did not need Rome's help to repel her enemies. To demonstrate that he presents the frieze slab (Cat. no. 38 panel 12) from the inner Telephos frieze depicting Telephos being suckled by a lioness instead of the customary deer (see also Chapter 4 p. 117 and Chapter 5 pp. 156-157).

⁶³Webb, 71 n 100.

⁶⁴Polybius 32.15.25 (Prusias' raid); Heres (1996) 101; (1997) 109; Kunze, 137-138.

The controversy surrounding the date of the monument's inception seems to lie on the inconclusive dating of the ceramic material from the 1904 (Conze) and 1961 (Schäfer) excavations. As publication of the ceramic material from the 1994-1996 excavations is in press, it would be premature to draw any conclusions on the altar's date. However, I am inclined to believe that, at least historically, a date for the Great Altar after the defeat of the Gauls in 166 BC is more likely than a date in the 180s or 170s.⁶⁵

Sculptor(s)

One of the most controversial and puzzling issues concerning the Great Altar is the number of sculptors employed in the building program and the identity of the monument's chief-designer. According to Pliny (*NH* 34.34), sculptors not only from Pergamon but also from Athens and Rhodes were employed on the altar's Gigantomachy frieze. Pliny's testimony is supported by a number of inscriptions derived from the socle of the frieze where the names of sculptors were recorded underneath the names of the giants. The full names of five sculptors have survived and fragments of the signatures of at least eleven more.⁶⁶ From the surviving names we know that at least two Pergamenes (Orestes and Theorrrhetos), an Athenian (Dionysiades), and possibly two Rhodians (Menekrates (son of Menekrates), and Melanippos) were employed.⁶⁷

Of the surviving names, only that of Theorrrhetos can be definitely restored on the inner side of the south/west spur wall where the signature had to be transferred to the cornice due to the steps (Cat. no. 1). Winnefeld also pointed out that between the name Theorrrhetos and the word ἐπόησεν (= made) on the corner block, was a space of 9ft. which could not have been filled with the father's name and place of origin of only one artist.⁶⁸ Thus he argued that in all likelihood the space near the corner of the s/w spur wall was allocated to another artist whose name does not survive.

Various attempts have been made to determine the number of artists and to assign portions of the Gigantomachy frieze to them. Winnefeld indicated that the shallow perpendicular lines on the base moulding of the frieze showed the extent of the sections (about 3 panels) assigned to the individual artists.⁶⁹ In his publication of the frieze in the *Altertümer von Pergamon* series he took into consideration the epigraphic and stylistic evidence of the frieze but his results were limited only to small portions of it - those corresponding to the signatures. Schuchhardt, in his detailed study of the frieze's stylistic differences, concluded that the frieze was divided into 15 sections which were worked by 15 different masters or workshops.⁷⁰ His arguments were heavily criticised by Bulle and Schweitzer who pointed out that Schuchhardt had entirely disregarded the inscriptional

⁶⁵See Chapter 5 pp. 189-190.

⁶⁶IvP nos: 70-85.

⁶⁷IvP nos. 75, 83 (Pergamenes respectively), 70 (Athenian) and 70-71 (Rhodians respectively); Melanippos (no. 71) has been identified as the Rhodian Melanippos son of Melasios (von Salis 14-15; Hansen 306).

⁶⁸Winnefeld, *AvP* 3.2., 121; IvP no. 82.

⁶⁹Winnefeld 121; IvP nos. 21-28.

⁷⁰W.H. Schuchhardt, *Die Meister des grossen Frieses von Pergamon*, (Berlin, 1925) 69.

evidence, relying mainly on stylistic differences in the execution of the main figures, categorising the sculptors as the "Hekate master", the "Leto master" and so on.⁷¹

Thimme argued that, since fragments of the signatures of 16 individual sculptors were recovered and less than one third of the base is still preserved, on the assumption that 2 to 5 meters were allocated to each sculptor, a total of 30 to 40 sculptors might have been employed.⁷² He also claimed that such a large number of sculptors would also account for the many differences in style of execution (for the style, see Chapter 3). Smith, in his criticism of Thimme's argument has suggested that the number proposed, though possible, seems too high; that some or even all the sculptors may have worked on more than one part of the frieze.⁷³

The striking differences in the execution of the sculptures and the testimony from the inscriptional evidence, that Pergamene artists worked alongside Athenian and Rhodian, have prompted Hansen to argue that influences from the different regions can be detected on the style of the frieze.⁷⁴ She argued that the dramatic and pathetic quality of the giants on the east frieze and the opponent of Phoibe on the S/E end (Cat. no. 12.3) are characteristic of the Rhodian School (cf. e.g. Laokoon group Fig. 43) and therefore it is likely that they were executed by Rhodian sculptors. On the other hand, she claims that Athenian influences can be detected in the execution of the faces of the figures on the north frieze; e.g. the giant in panel 73 (Cat. no. 23) compared with the head of the Parthenon horseman from the west frieze (BM 326, ii.2), or the face of the figure in panel 85 (Cat. no. 26) compared with the Praxitelean Aphrodite of Knidos. To the hands of Pergamene artists Hansen assigned the fallen giants of human form on all sides of the frieze because they resembled some figures from the earlier Attalid monuments (see Chapters 2, for Attalid monuments, and 3 for the influences on the Gigantomachy).

Hansen's stylistic demarcation of the frieze does not take into consideration that many of the traits she calls Rhodian, Athenian or Pergamene are not confined to particular sections of the frieze but are, rather, found on all sides and in most battling groups. For instance, the "Rhodian" east frieze has a vivid image from Athenian art: namely the composition of Zeus and Athena which is the mirror image of the group of Poseidon and Athena from the Parthenon's west pediment.⁷⁵ Likewise, the dramatic qualities of the Laokoon group are to be found not only on the faces of the giants of the east frieze but also in examples from other parts of the frieze: Cat. nos. 7 (panel 16), 24.2 (panel 78), 25 (panel 81), 31 (panel 106).⁷⁶

⁷¹H. Bulle, "Die Meister des grossen Frieses von Pergamon by W. H. Schuchhardt" review *Gnomon* II (1926) 326-336; B. Schweitzer, "Die Meister des grossen Frieses von Pergamon by W. H. Schuchhardt" review in *GGA* (1926) 51-61.

⁷²D. Thimme, "The masters of the Pergamon Gigantomachy" *AJA* 50 (1946) 347-9.

⁷³R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London: Thames and Hudson 1991) 159-160.

⁷⁴Hansen 306-307; IvP nos 135, 137-138, 141, 144 show that there were more Athenian artists working in Pergamon.

⁷⁵The influence of the Parthenon pediment on Greek art is also evident on other works of art, cf. e.g. the group of Herakles and Hippolyte (slab 541) from the Amazonomachy frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassae (dated ca. 428-420 BC); British Museum "Phigaleia Room" GR 1815.10-20-23.

⁷⁶See also Chapter 3 pp. 89-90, 92-93.

That artists of different ethnic origins and artistic backgrounds worked alongside one another on the frieze rather than being assigned different sides, is also attested by the inscription that has the Rhodian Menekrates working together with the Athenian Dionysiades.⁷⁷

Despite the variety of opinions on the number of sculptors working on the frieze, modern scholarship tends to agree that there was one chief-designer responsible for the overall plan to which the other sculptors worked. However, opinions on the identity of the master-sculptor diverge. The earliest suggestion was presented by von Salis who favoured the Rhodian sculptor Menekrates.⁷⁸ To support his argument, he presented Ausonius' testimony that Menekrates was one of the 7 most famous architects in Greek antiquity and therefore eligible for the altar's chief-designer position.⁷⁹ The Stoic philosopher Krates of Mallos was alternatively suggested by Simon in 1975.⁸⁰ Simon, convinced that the Pergamene frieze was inspired by Stoic philosophy, argued that the best candidate for the position of chief-designer was Krates, head of the Pergamene Library during the reign of Eumenes II.⁸¹ In support of her theory she went on to argue: that the frieze was organised in four parts with Eos (goddess of Dawn) on the south and Nyx (goddess of night) on the north, echoing Krates' geographical arrangements (Strabo 1.2.24-25); that the giants are depicted deformed, bestial and uncontrolled, an idea in accordance with the Stoic belief that passion is a deforming disease; and that Zeus is depicted as the omnipresent king of rational order punishing lawlessness with his thunderbolts and his eagle, which appears throughout the frieze except the north side (Hades' realm).⁸²

Simon's theory has been criticised by Stewart who argues that the frieze seems not to accord with Stoic philosophy as closely as Simon claimed.⁸³ For instance Krates favoured *euphony* and beauty as supreme poetic virtues and would therefore be more inclined towards idealised classical beauty rather than Hellenistic hyper-realism.⁸⁴ He does not, however, reject the idea of Stoic influence altogether, agreeing that the frieze can be

⁷⁷IvP no. 70.

⁷⁸von Salis, (1916) 10-13. According to Pliny (*NH* 36.34) Menekrates was the adoptive father of the sculptors Apollonios and Tauriskos from Tralles, the makers of the Farnese Bull group (a Roman copy of the Hellenistic original is in Naples, National Museum 6002); see also A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture* vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press 1990) 214, T 167.

⁷⁹*Mosella* 298-320, dated sometime after ca. 371 AD. Von Salis' argument was rejected by Lippold in his review of the former's work (G. Lippold, *GGA* (1914) 351-361), by E. Fabricius (*RE* XV, 1931, 803 s.v. Menekrates 39), by C. Börker ("Menekrates und die Künstler des farnesischen Stieres" *ZPE* 64 (1986) and V.C. Goodlett ("Rhodian Sculpture workshops" *AJA* 95 (1991), but was accepted by Bieber (1955, 114) and Hansen, 306. Bulle assigned to Menekrates and Dionysiades Zeus' group (Cat. no. 20; see *Gnomon* II, 1926, 330-332) but he was disproved by von Massow on the basis of the dowel holes in the relief plates that do not correspond with the cuttings on the signature's block; W. von Massow, "Die Menekratesinschrift vom Pergamonfries" *AA* (1926) 387-393.

⁸⁰E. Simon, *Pergamon und Hesiod* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern 1975) 56-59.

⁸¹For Krates' work see Chapter 2. Pliny *NH* 7.13, 28, 31; Plutarch *Moralia* 387 B.

⁸²D.L. 7.110 (*SVF* 1.211), Seneca *Epist* 116.1 (passions); Kleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus*, *apud* Stobaios *Ecl.* 1.1.12, p.25 W, (*SVF* 1.537), D.L. 7.87-88 (Zeus; Cat. nos. 1, 6, 20 (panel 60) and 31 (not visible in the photos).

⁸³A. Stewart, "Narration and Allusion in the Hellenistic Baroque" in *Narrative and event in Ancient Art* ed. P.J. Holliday, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 157-158.

⁸⁴Athenaios 9.366 d; Krates wrote a book on Attic diction. Cf. also J.I. Porter, "Philodemos on material difference" *Cronache Ercolanesi* 19 (1989) 150 n.8.

seen as filled with allegorical readings intended for the Stoic critic and the learned spectator.⁸⁵

A third possibility was presented by Andreae: the sculptor Phyromachos.⁸⁶ He argues that Phyromachos' famous statue of Asklepios in Pergamon must have been an example for the altar's sculptures.⁸⁷ That the sculptor worked at the Attalid court is testified by Pliny (34.84) who argues that Phyromachos with Isigonos (? Epigonos), Stratonikos, and Antigonos were responsible for works of art depicting the battles of Attalos I and Eumenes II against the Gauls.⁸⁸ Andreae's theory has been seriously challenged by H. Müller and F. Queyrel who asked which of the three known artists with the name Phyromachos might have been the master of the Great Altar and whether Phyromachos' statue of Asklepios stood in the Asklepieion or the Nikephorion.⁸⁹

Function and Purpose of the monument

The precise function of the monument is not yet known. Most theories so far proposed for the date of the monument's inception all connect it to military victories for which the altar was erected as a thank-offering, intended to glorify the Pergamenes and present them as defenders of Hellenism, the Gauls as barbarian and brutal.⁹⁰ However, Boehringer and Stähler have suggested that the monument was the *Heroon* of Telephos intended to celebrate the city's mythical founder and the Attalids' adopted mythical ancestor.⁹¹ In reaction to this theory, Stewart has suggested that, if the monument was Telephos' heroon, it might have been more appropriately situated close to the Dionysion as Dionysos was the hero's and the Attalids' divine ancestor.⁹² At this point in the thesis it may be premature to speculate further on the date and purpose of the monument (see Chapter 5).

⁸⁵Stewart 158-160; see also Chapter 5.

⁸⁶B. Andreae, "Der Asklepios des Phyromachos", in *Phyromachos-Probleme*, 45-100. On Phyromachos see also Chapter 2 pp. 37-38.

⁸⁷Polybius 32.15.25.

⁸⁸Pliny in his testimony refers to a sculptor called Isigonos of whom we have no further information. Consequently, Michaelis suggested substituting the name Isigonos for that of Epigonos, considering the latter's prominence as a Pergamene court sculptor; A. Michaelis, "Der Schöpfer der attalischen Kampfgruppen" *JDAI* VIII (1893) 131-134; J. Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik* II, 4th edition (Leipzig 1893-1894) 223; Hansen 278, n.20; Stewart (1990) 205; Smith, 100. See also Chapter 2, *Lesser Attalid dedication*. B. Andreae, believes that this votive group consisted of more than 100 under life-size statues of giants, Gauls, Persians, and Amazons; "Vom Pergamonaltar bis Raffael" *AW* 23.1 (1992) 41-64.

⁸⁹Asklepios' statue: F. Queyrel, "Phyromachos: Problèmes de style et de datation" *Revue Archéologique* (1992) 376-380; Nikephorion or Asklepieion: H. Müller, "Phyromachos im pergamenischen Nikephorion?" *Chiron* 22 (1992) 195-226. Müller's article prompted Andreae's immediate response with another article "Laurea coronatur: Der Lorbeerkranz des Apollon und die Attaliden von Pergamon" *RM* (1993) 83-106. See also Hansen (276-277) on the debate of the three sculptors with the name Phyromachos: a fifth century BC one who worked on the Erechtheion frieze (*Anth. Gre.* 16.239); a third century BC one (Pliny, 34.51); or a second century BC sculptor who taught the painters Heraklides and Milon (Pliny, 35.135, 146).

⁹⁰Cf. e.g. Pollitt (1986) 101; Stewart (1990) 213; Hoepfner, *Model* (1996) 67; B. Andreae, "Dating" (1996) 126.

⁹¹See above n. 17. They advocated the same theory for the earlier apsidal structure in the altar's foundation. Their theory was also accepted by Webb, 62.

⁹²A. Stewart, "Telephos/Telepinu and Dionysos" *Pergamon* II, 115.

CHAPTER II

THE CONTEXT

This chapter presents the background of Attalid history, including developments in various areas of Pergamene life and culture; e.g. religion, coinage, art and literature, foreign policy.¹ The aim is to indicate the context against which the Great Altar and especially its sculpted friezes, will be studied and analysed in the following chapters.

1. The Attalid ascent to power

The city of Pergamon is situated on a hilltop in the valley of the river Kaikos, 1000 ft. above sea level (Map 2). On the north it is surrounded by mountains, while the eastern and western sides of the hill are washed by the rivers Selinos and Ketios (respectively), tributaries to the river Kaikos.² The modern town of Bergama lies below the ancient citadel, to the south-west.

The first time Pergamon made its appearance, in historical times, was in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (7.8.9) where the author says he visited Pergamon in ca. 399 BC and received hospitality from the descendants of the Eretrian Gongylos.³ However, the city of Pergamon reached a position of importance when it came into the possession of Lysimachos king of Thrace (ca. 302 BC).⁴ Lysimachos entrusted the city, in which he deposited his treasury, to the care of the Paphlagonian eunuch Philetairos.⁵ In ca. 284/3 BC Philetairos revolted against Lysimachos and called upon Seleukos I of Syria for help, placing himself and the treasury at the Syrian king's disposal.⁶ After transferring his

¹For a more detailed history of Pergamon see: Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* which provides a very good selection of studies on Attalid history and diplomacy; R.G. McShane, *The foreign policy of the Attalids of Pergamon*, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences 53 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964); R.E. Allen, *Attalids: A constitutional History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983) et bib; M.M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman conquest. A Selection of ancient sources in translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988) 316-356; C. Habicht, "The Seleucids and their rivals" in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. VIII, ed. A.E. Astin, F.W. Walbank, M.W. Frederiksen, R.M. Ogilvie, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989).

²Pliny 5.126.

³According to Xenophon (*Hellenica* 3.1.6-7), a certain Gongylos received as a gift from the Persian king a territory in Asia Minor for having "espoused the Persian cause". For this reason, according to Xenophon, Gongylos was banished from Eretria. According to Thucydides (1.128) and Diodorus Siculus (11.44) he was given these cities (Pergamon, Gambreion, Palaigambreion, Myrina and Gryneion) by Xerxes the king of Persia in 477 BC, for having aided the recapture of Byzantium from the Spartan king Pausanias. For information on pre-Attalid Pergamon see Hansen 6-10.

⁴Diodorus Siculus 20.107.2-5.

⁵Strabo 7.6.1 (319), 12.3.8 (543); G. Cardinali, *Il regno di Pergamon* (Rome 1906) 6-7; H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* vols. 1-3, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 26, 32 and 36, (Munich 1937-52; reprinted with corrections and additions 1964-67). In the years of Alexander the Great, Pergamon has been the residence of his son Herakles, by the Persian princess Barsine; ca. 331 BC, Plutarch *Alex.* 21; Quintus Curtius *History of Alexander* 10.6.11-13, 17, 20; Diodorus Siculus 20.20.1,2; 28.1.3.

⁶Strabo 13.4.1; Pausanias 1.10.4. The confrontation between the two kings (Seleukos I and Lysimachos) ended with the battle at Koroupedion (281 BC) where Lysimachos was defeated and met his death; Eusebios *Chron.* (ed. Schöne) I. 234-235; K.J. Beloch *Griechische Geschichte*, 2nd ed. (Berlin and Leipzig 1925-

allegiance to Seleukos in 283 BC, Philetairos' (283-263 BC) position in Pergamon changed from that of a simple finance officer to "Κύριος ὢν τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τῶν χρημάτων" (= master of the fort and the treasury), but he acquired no further direct authority from his Seleukid suzerains.⁷ During the 20 years of his rule, Philetairos followed a policy of befriending Pergamon's neighbours which, as attested by epigraphic evidence, most often took the form of financial generosity, and military or financial support against Gallic raids.⁸

The type of Pergamene authority changed entirely with Philetairos' death and the accession of his nephew (Eumenes I, 263-241 BC). Eumenes opposed Seleukid suzerainty over Pergamon and claimed independence for his city in a battle against Antiochos I near Sardis.⁹ The significance of Eumenes' actions for the future of Pergamon is indicated in the statement of Strabo which refers to Eumenes as "δυνάστης τῶν κύκλῳ χωρίων".¹⁰ Eumenes is referred to as "dynast of the surrounding country", whereas Philetairos had been simply "master of Pergamon and its wealth". This change of authority is particularly evident in the city's coinage. The head of Seleukos I on the obverse of the Pergamene coinage is now replaced by that of Philetairos wearing a *taenia*.¹¹

The years of Eumenes' rule passed relatively peacefully as a result of the heavy tribute that he was paying the Gauls in return for immunity from plundering and ravaging.¹² Eumenes I died in 241 BC and was succeeded by his cousin and adopted son Attalos I (241-197 BC).¹³ During the reigns of Attalos I and his successor (Eumenes II, 197-159 BC) we see further development of Pergamene authority in two important aspects: assumption of the royal title (Attalos I) accompanied by the emergence of Pergamon as a military and diplomatic power; and a corresponding attempt to make Pergamon the cultural centre of Asia Minor.

1927) iv 1 242-245. For the reasons that led Philetairos to transfer his allegiance to Seleukos I see: Justin 17.1; Pausanias 1.10.3-5.

⁷Strabo 13.4.1 (623).

⁸**Financial generosity:** cf. e.g. IvP 245 F C (ll. 42-45), financial donation to Pitane; *OGIS* 312 dedication to Apollo Chresteros at Aigai; E. Ziebarth, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin (1873) XI.2 287 B (ll. 119-129) to the temple of Apollo at Delos; *OGIS* 749 (Hermes) and *CIGS* 1788-1790 (Helikonian Muses) at Thespiiai. **Military / financial support against Gauls:** *IG* XI.4 1105, is a metrical dedication inscribed on a base at Delos recording the military aid Philetairos provided for the repulsion of the Gauls from Delphi (279/8 BC; Allen (1983) 136-137 nn. 3-4 prefers a date ca. 276-272 BC); *OGIS* 748, is a fragmentary inscription from Kyzikos recording a series of benefactions (amongst which food supplies after a Gallic raid) given to them over a period of 5 years (281-276 BC; the city responded with the institution of a festival in his honour, Philetaireia *CIG* III 3660 l.15); on Gallic raids see below *Gauls*.

⁹The battle is dated somewhere between 263 and 261 BC (death of Antiochos I); IvP 15; Strabo 13.4.2 (624); Beloch IV⁴ 1. 543 n.4; Allen (1983) 20-21.

¹⁰Strabo 13.4.2 (624).

¹¹E.T. Newell, "The Pergamene mint under Philetairos" *ANSNN* (1936) 33; W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Mysia in the British Museum* (London 1892) 114-115 nos. 27 (Seleukos I), 30 (Philetairos), pl. 23.13.

¹²Livy 38.16.13-14; *SIG* III 410; Polybios 4.46.3-4 (on similar tribute paid by Byzantium).

¹³Strabo 13.1.1-2 (623-4).

2. Attalid foreign policy¹⁴

Gauls

The power that proved to be a formative influence in Attalid foreign policy was that of the Gauls, a group of Celtic tribes that had settled around the area of the lower Danube sometime in the 4th century BC. Between the years 279-277 BC they invaded Macedonia, mainland Greece, and northern Asia Minor in the form of raiding waves.¹⁵ They pillaged and plundered, causing major damage to the agricultural areas and the food supply.¹⁶

The tribute paid to the Gauls, by the city of Pergamon, was discontinued by Attalos I (241-197 BC), who confronted and defeated the Tolistoagii Gauls in 241-240 BC at the sources of the river Kaikos.¹⁷ The impact of his victory was so great that Attalos was given the title *Soter* and proclaimed himself king of Pergamon.¹⁸ The battle was commemorated on a round victory monument situated in the peribolos of the Athena precinct on the Pergamene acropolis.¹⁹

Throughout the reigns of Attalos I and Eumenes II, the Gauls continued to pose a major threat to Pergamene territory and the free cities of northern Asia Minor.²⁰ A number of battles were fought either against the Gauls alone or against their forces combined with other Attalid enemies: Antiochos Hierax (230s-229/228 BC); Antiochos III of Syria (192-

¹⁴In the interest of this study, only the history of Pergamon up to the reign of Eumenes II will be studied. Attalid military history and foreign policy is a very complicated subject and it is not in the best interests of this study to attempt even to outline them. However, a general idea of the events and the alliances behind them is important for understanding the contemporary state of affairs.

¹⁵Pausanias 10.19.5-23.4 is a major source on the invasion of Greece and Asia Minor by the Gauls. Cf. also Paus. 1.4.5; 10.23.14; Pol. 4.46.1-3; Diod. Sic. 23.9; Justin 24.4-25.2; 26.2; Strabo 12.5.1 (567); Livy 38.16.1-13. One body, under Belgus, pressed into regions bordering on Macedonia; a second group settled in Thrace; a third group, led by Brennus, pushed into Greece and attacked Delphi (he was repelled with great loss; see n. 8 p. 17 on Philetairos' aid). From Brennus' group, three separate tribes crossed the Bosphoros with the help of Nikomedes of Bithynia who later solicited their support against his brother and Antiochos I of Syria. The three tribes set out into Asia (278/7 BC) in different directions to plunder, pillage, and become a major threat to the cities of Asia Minor; Paus. 10.23.14 dates the entry of the Gauls into Asia Minor, to the year of the Athenian archon Demokles 278/7 BC. Nikomedes of Bithynia and Mithradates of Pontos allowed them to settle down in the mountainous interior of Phrygia and Kappadokia (Galatia) which separated the Seleukid kingdom from the Pontic principalities. See also S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, vol. 1 "The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule" (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1993) 13-58.

¹⁶OGIS 765 ll. 5-15; Plutarch *Parallela Minora* 15; Pausanias 10.32.4; Strabo 13.1.27 (594). A votive relief from Kyzikos, depicted Herakles naked with a raised club attacking a collapsing Gaul who is wearing Celtic trousers and was carrying the characteristic oval shield. The relief is dated ca. 277/6 BC and is dedicated by the *strategos* and *phylarchs* of Kyzikos to Herakles for aiding them against the Gauls of Loutarios; LIMC V 1990 (J. Boardman) s.v. Herakles, no. 2813; Ist. Museum inv. no. 858.

¹⁷Livy 38.16.14; Schuchhardt, *AvP* I.1, 137-138.

¹⁸IvP 43-45 (the Pergamenes erect altars to "King Attalos the Saviour"); Pol. 18.41.7; Livy 33.21.3; 8.16.14; Strabo 13.4.2 (624).

¹⁹IvP 20; OGIS 269; Livy 38.18.14; see also below pp. 39-41.

²⁰That the Gauls remained the most threatening danger to the Greeks in Asia Minor is attested by Polybios (21.40.2). The threat of the Gallic raids and Achaioi's expansionistic tendencies towards the Aeolian cities of n/w Asia Minor resulted in the welcoming of Attalos' army and the formation of treaties between them in 218 BC; Pol. 5.77.1-5. Some of the cities mentioned in Polybios' statement were: Kyme, Myrina, Phokaia, Aigai, Temnos, Teos, and Kolophon. He even made treaties with the cities of Hellespont such as Lampsakos, Alexandria Troas and Ilion; Pol. 5.77. 5-6. As a consequence of this alliance some of the cities offered financial and military contributions to Pergamon in return for protection; Pol. 21.45.4-6 (tribute paid to Attalos); see also McShane 70-73 and notes.

188 BC); Prusias I of Bithynia, Philip V and Hannibal (186-183 BC); Pharnakes of Pontos (183-179 BC).²¹ The Attalid victories over them were often commemorated in art, both inside Pergamon and in other cities of the Greek world.²² The most decisive victory over the Gauls was won in 166 BC when Eumenes II managed to curb the Celtic tribes of Asia Minor at least for the remainder of his life.²³ For his decisive role in the repulsion of the Gallic terror Eumenes was honoured by the Ionian League as the "common benefactor of the Greeks" for his "many great struggles against the barbarians ... that the inhabitants of the Greek cities might always dwell in peace and the utmost prosperity".²⁴ According to Livy (42.5.3) the feeling of the Greek cities towards Eumenes was that "he so conducted himself in his kingdom that the cities which were under his control did not desire to exchange their condition for that of any free state".

Seleukids

A similarly formative role in the shaping of Attalid power in Asia Minor was played by the Seleukids. Seleukos I (Nikator) had provided Philetairos with the aid he required to disengage himself from Lysimachos' suzerainty in exchange for that of the Syrian king.²⁵ This allegiance did not last long and already under Eumenes I (263 BC) the two dynasties become hostile to each other over territories and power in Asia Minor.

Certainly the most decisive war against the Seleukid kingdom was fought by Eumenes II, against Antiochos III in 192-188 BC. The confrontation ended with the battle at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (189 BC), which was followed by the Peace of Apamea in 188 BC. The terms of the treaty concluded that Eumenes would take under his control most of Seleukid Asia Minor and a portion of Thrace.²⁶ The newly enlarged Pergamene kingdom created fresh problems for Eumenes, who had to defend his kingdom against the increasingly hostile intentions of his neighbours (kings of Pontos and Bithynia), as well as the Gauls who were ready to ally with anyone willing to fight the Attalids. By 188 BC the Pergamene kingdom, at the expense of the Seleukid kingdom, had become the largest power in Asia Minor.

In 173 BC Eumenes II entered an alliance with Antiochos IV Epiphanes after helping the latter regain his throne from the usurper Heliodoros.²⁷ Eumenes' alliance with the Seleukid king proved of great importance as the latter, probably with the aid of the

²¹See Table 1.

²²See section below on art pp. 39-43.

²³Polybios 30.30.4; 31.8.2; IvP 65.

²⁴C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic world* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934) no. 52 (= *OGIS* 763) ll. 8-13. Decree from Telmessos dated in 182 BC pronounces Eumenes Soter for having defeated the combined forces of the Gauls and Prusias I of Bithynia; M. Segre "Due nuovi testi storici" *Riv. Fil.* (1932) 446-452. Musical contests were instituted in Tralles (ca. 166 BC); L. Robert, "Décret de Tralles", *RPhil* (1934) 279. Festivals in honour of Eumenes Soter in Sardis, *OGIS* 305. Honours by the city of Miletos M. Holleaux, *Études d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Grecques*, vol. 2 (Paris 1938) 177-8; According to Pausanias (1.4.5) and Strabo (12.5.1, 566) it was the Pergamenes who drove the Gauls from the coastal cities of Asia Minor and forced them into the interior; see also ruler-cult section on the honours by the city of Miletos and other cities pp. 32-34.

²⁵See above pp. 16-17.

²⁶See Table 1.

²⁷Appian *Syriaca* 45; IvP 160 p. 87 (dated to ca. 175 BC = *OGIS* 248); Livy *Periochai* 46.

Kappadokian king Ariarathes IV, aided Eumenes in his final war against the Gauls in the years 168-166 BC.²⁸

Macedonians

The Macedonians were another major force against whom the Attalids engaged in war. The earliest confrontation between the two kingdoms took place during the First Macedonian War (211-205 BC) in which Attalos I participated as ally of the Aitolian League and Rome, against Philip V.²⁹ Several theories have been suggested as to the reasons for Attalos' involvement in this war. Holleaux argued that Attalos was attempting to found an empire in the Aegean.³⁰ Other views see Philip as the natural enemy of Attalos because of the latter's opposition to the Seleukids and Prusias I of Bithynia (Philip's ally), and in the defence of his kingdom in Asia Minor.³¹

On the other hand Allen argued that the evidence shows Attalos reluctant to enter the war against Philip; he entered only in 209 BC, not in 211 when the war began - a clear indication that at this stage he was not interested in the Aegean.³² In addition, Allen argues that Attalos and Antiochos III, in the previous war (223-213 BC), were allies against Achaïos, usurper to the Seleukid throne, while Prusias had not as yet shown any signs of hostility towards Attalos. Finally, Philip V at that time had shown no interest in Attalos' kingdom and therefore posed no threat to him. Attalos' short intervention in the First Macedonian War did not materialise until his Aitolian allies elected him "Στρατηγός Αὐτοκράτωρ" of the Aitolian League and sold him the island of Aigina as a naval base at the price of 30 talents.³³

However, Attalos' intervention in the Second Macedonian War (202-197 BC) as ally of Rhodes was clearly a result of Philip's threatening interest in the cities of the Hellespont and the Aegean islands.³⁴ Pergamon engaged in war with Macedon on two further occasions, both during the reign of Eumenes II. The first was during the war against Prusias I of Bithynia (186-183 BC) in which Philip V joined the war on the side of his brother in law, the Gauls and Hannibal. Rome was asked to intervene but all it did was to send an embassy to Hannibal demanding his surrender and an end to the war.³⁵ The second occasion was in the Third Macedonian War (172-168 BC) against Perseus of Macedon and his expansionist campaign towards mainland Greece, NW Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. He was finally defeated in 168 BC at the battle of Pydna (Table 1).

²⁸Pol. 30.30.4; IvP 165 (inscription commemorating the victory of Eumenes II against the Gauls); Cardinali 108-109; McShane 184 n.25; Hansen 118.

²⁹Pol. 9.30.7; Livy 27.30.11; Attalos joined his allies in 209 BC.

³⁰M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques au IIIe siècle av. J.-C* (Paris 1921) 204-205.

³¹G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* (Turin 1907-64) iii. 2, 416; U. Wilcken, *RE* s.v. Attalos (9) 2163.

³²Allen (1983) 66-67.

³³Pol. 22.8.-9-10; Paus. 8.42.7 (Aigina); Livy 27.29.20 and 27.30.1 (title Strategos); Allen (1983) 69.

³⁴Pol. 54.8, Philip's admiral Dikaiarchos shows interest in the cities of the Hellespont in an effort to control the international sea-trade; 16.9.4 the Rhodian Theophiliskos urges Attalos to enter an alliance with Rhodes.

³⁵Pol. 23.1.4, 7, 3.1, 5.1; Livy 39.51.1-12; Plut. *Flam.* 20.

In view of these events one may agree with Allen that, in the wars against Macedon the main motive for Attalid intervention seems to have been the defence and not the extension of the Attalid kingdom.³⁶

Rome

The attitude of Rome towards Pergamon was inconsistent. An alliance between them was formed during the First Macedonian War, into which Pergamon was reluctantly dragged by her Aitolian allies.³⁷ The relation between them grew stronger in the Second Macedonian War when Attalos I, seeing that he was unable to defend his kingdom from his own resources, sought Rome's help.³⁸ Rome sent an ultimatum to Philip warning him to make "war on no Hellenes" (Pol. 16.27.2). She actively joined the war only after Attalos' death, thus assuming a leading position against Philip.³⁹ In the years between 209-189 BC Rome offered a helping hand in repelling the advances of the Macedonians and the Syrian kings against the freedom of Greek cities.

However, Rome's attitude towards her ally Pergamon changed dramatically in the next 20 years in reaction to Pergamon's growing power in Asia Minor. In the wars against Prusias I (186-183 BC) and Pharnakes of Pontos (183-179 BC), though Rome's assistance was repeatedly asked, she consistently stayed out of the conflict.⁴⁰ For the war against Pharnakes Polybios records (24.4.11) that "Eumenes doubled his forces and energetically drilled them ... both for the purpose of meeting actual exigencies and to show the Romans that he was capable without any assistance of defending himself".

Rome's attitude changed in 172 BC when the threat of Perseus' growing power in the Aegean forced her to receive Eumenes as an ally again.⁴¹ Rome's behaviour during the first two years of the war was characterised by arrogance and disrespect towards her allies and Eumenes, to the extent that the king withdrew his forces in 170 BC.⁴² However, Eumenes' troops under his two brothers played a significant role in defeating Perseus at Pydna (Table 1).

The already damaged alliance between the two cities was completely severed in the following war of Eumenes II against the Gauls (168-166 BC). Eumenes sent two embassies to Rome, the first led by his brother Attalos (II) and the second by himself, but he was rudely rebuffed. Rome's refusal encouraged Gallic forces to resume their raids but they were finally defeated by the combined forces of Eumenes, Ariarathes IV, and Antiochos IV of Syria.⁴³ The importance of this victory over the Gauls is particularly

³⁶Allen (1983) 74.

³⁷See above *Macedonians*.

³⁸Pol. 16.24.3; Livy 31.2.1-2; 31.15.9-11.

³⁹See Table 1 on the sources and the conclusion of the war with the Treaty of Apamea.

⁴⁰(186-183 BC) see above *Macedonians*; (183-179 BC) Pol. 23.9.1, 3; 24.1.1-3, embassies to Rome in 182 and 181 BC; 24.5.1-8, 14 third embassy to Rome.

⁴¹Livy 42.6.3, 11.1; Appian *Macedonika* 11.1ff.

⁴²Pol. 27.9.1, 10.4; Livy 42.57.3, 63.1-2, 43.6.1-3, 11.9 (dissatisfaction by the allies); Pol. 27.15.14; Livy 42.56.9, 60.9 (allied troops sent home in 171 BC); Livy 42.63.10-11, 67.7; 43.4.5-13, 7.8-11, 8.6-10 and *Periochai* 43 (destruction and plunder by Roman leaders); Livy 43.4.8-13; Diodorus Siculus 30.6 (citizens of Abdera sold into slavery); Livy 43.4.10, 12-13, 7.5-8; 44.10.12 (Eumenes breaks off his support to Rome).

⁴³See Table 1.

evident in the reception of the king by the cities of Asia Minor as Soter and in the honours bestowed upon him.⁴⁴ According to Polybios (31.6.6) " ... the more harshly the Romans behaved towards Eumenes, the greater grew the affection for him among the Greeks".

3. Pergamon: the cultural centre of Asia Minor

The rise of Pergamon in Asia Minor as a strong political, economic, and cultural centre, is particularly manifested in Attalid internal policies. The growing Attalid self-confidence, resulting from their numerous victories over enemies, is evident in the city's royal coinage, religious festivals and cults, as well as in their elaborate programme of city-beautification and patronage of arts and learning.

*Coinage*⁴⁵

When Eumenes I (263-241 BC) acquired the throne of Pergamon upon the death of his uncle Philetairos (263 BC), he introduced a new type of silver tetradrachm (the Philetairos-type) modelled upon the coin of his predecessor but bearing on the obverse the head of Philetairos instead of that of Seleukos I Nikator; the head is bound with a band (taenia). On the reverse is the figure of Athena, seated on a throne, wearing crested helmet, chiton and peplos, her outstretched right hand resting on the shield before her knees and her left holding a spear and resting on the throne. In the field right of Athena is the inscription ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ (Fig. 9).⁴⁶

Under Attalos I (241-197 BC), this type of royal coinage underwent a number of changes. The head of Philetairos on the obverse acquired a diadem entwined with laurel in place of the previous taenia. On the reverse, the shield of Athena was moved from the left side of the coin to the right side, resting against the back of her throne. Her spear was moved from the left hand side to the right, rather casually placed between her legs. She now holds a laurel wreath with which she crowns the name ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ which was itself moved from the right to the left side of the field (Fig. 10).⁴⁷

It is not clear exactly when each of these changes took place; the consensus is that they developed gradually during the first years of Attalos I's reign.⁴⁸ This revised type probably continued to be issued until the introduction of the *kistophoric* coinage with no changes other than minor stylistic ones, and the appearance of various new symbols on the

⁴⁴See above n 24 p. 19.

⁴⁵In the interest of this study only the coinage of independent Pergamon will be presented. For the issues of Philetairos see Newell (1936); Fr. Imhoof-Blummer, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon* (Berlin 1884); U. Westermark, *Das Bildnis des Philetairos von Pergamon*, Corpus der Münzprägung (Uppsala 1961) and bib.

⁴⁶Fig. 9: Westermark, no. VIII 1a; from the Fox Collection.

⁴⁷Fig. 10: Westermark, no. CXXIV.1. The motif of the seated Athena with her shield resting on the side of her throne is also depicted on the balustrade of Athena Nike in Athens (dated to ca. 420-400 BC); J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985) 129 nos. 5-6; Stewart (1990) pl. 419.

⁴⁸O. Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic coinage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 129.; Hansen 32, 37; Westermark 62-64.

reverse alongside Athena (i.e.: bow, stylis, cornucopia, bee, star, ivy-leaf, grapes, palm and thyrsos).⁴⁹

The *kistophoros* type of coin made its first appearance during the reign of Eumenes II. The name derives from the type of the obverse.⁵⁰ Within a wreath of ivy stands a round basket with a half-raised lid from which a serpent emerges to the left.⁵¹ The basket has been identified as the sacred basket or *kiste mystike* of the god Dionysos. The reverse represents two serpents either side of a bow-case (Fig. 11).⁵² The smaller bronze denominations of this type (drachms and didrachms) bear on the obverse a bunch of grapes and on the reverse a club and a lion's skin (Fig. 12).⁵³

All authorities agree that the function of the *kistophoros* was to create a single currency and thereby to establish a common economic market throughout the territory under the control or influence of the Attalids - one that would be easily exchangeable with other strong contemporary currencies: 1 *kistophoros* = 3 Attic drachms = 3 Roman denarii.⁵⁴ The debate, however, concerning the date of the *kistophoros*' introduction has been a long one. The dates suggested range from 190s to 166 BC.⁵⁵

The strongest argument for a late date for the introduction of the *kistophoric* coinage is the observation of Kleiner and Noe that the same issuing magistrate's initials occur on both the latest issues of the Philetairos-type and the earliest *kistophoroi*.⁵⁶ From the series of extant Pergamene *kistophoroi* there are just two examples (from the Pergamene mint) where the magistrate's initials ΑΣ also appear on the latest Philetairos-type tetradrachms dated by Seyrig between 188 and 165 BC.⁵⁷

Kleiner and Noe suggest that the last issues of royal tetradrachms and the first *kistophoroi* must have run concurrently for two to three years until the people became accustomed to the new coinage.⁵⁸ It is indeed noteworthy that Kleiner and Noe's late date for the introduction of the *kistophoros* coin seems also to be supported by the type's distinctive absence in hoards buried between the early 190s and 150-145 BC (App. 1). It is therefore quite plausible that the *kistophoros* was introduced after the victory of Eumenes

⁴⁹Westermarck 20-50.

⁵⁰Livy 37.46.3, 58.4, 59.4, 29.7.1; Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 2.6.2, 2.16.4, 11.1.2; *De Domo* 52.

⁵¹The basket has been identified as the sacred basket or *kiste mystike* of the god Dionysos, hence the name *Kistophoros*. See previous note.

⁵²F.S. Kleiner and S.P. Noe, "The early *kistophoric* coinage" *ANSNS* 14 (1977) 28, series 17, 37a. Pl. 4.8 (Fig. 11 mint of Pergamon).

⁵³Kleiner & Noe, 25 series 10, 3a pl. 3.8 (Fig. 12 mint of Pergamon).

⁵⁴The *kistophoros* was 25% lighter than the Attic tetradrachm. O. Mørkholm, "Some reflections on the early *kistophoric* coinage" *ANSMN* 24 (1979) 47; Kleiner & Noe, 17-18, 125; B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum: A manual of Greek numismatics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911) 534. An exchange value for the *kistophoros* coin = 4 Attic drachmae = 3 Roman denarii, has been suggested for the year 39 BC by K.W. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1996) 98.

⁵⁵K.W. Harl, "On the date of the introduction of the *kistophoric* tetradrachm", *CA* 10 (1991) 268-297 suggests a date in the 190s BC; Imhoof-Blumner 33, suggests the date 188 BC; Mørkholm, *Some reflections*, 50, suggests a date between 179-172 BC; Kleiner & Noe, 125 suggest the year 166 BC as a possible date for the introduction of the *Kistophoros* unit.

⁵⁶Kleiner and Noe 15-16.

⁵⁷N. Olcay, H. Seyrig, *Le trésor de Mektepini en Phrygie* (Beirut: Institut Français d'archéologie, 1965) 14, 29-31. On stylistic grounds and number of dies; 16 reverse and 24 obverse.

⁵⁸Kleiner and Noe 15-16.

II over the Gauls in 166 BC - a victory from which Eumenes II emerged as champion of the Greeks of Asia Minor.⁵⁹ Having thus secured his position in northern Asia Minor, he saw fit to introduce in his territory a strong common currency.

In effect, despite the fact that the royal tetradrachms ceased to exist by the late 160s (Attalos II and Attalos III did not issue any), the kistophoros was in a way the king's money. As the previous Philetairos type, through its symbols (bow, grapes, thyrsos etc.) attested the Attalids' Greek origin and divine descent, so did the kistophoros. The *kiste mystike* and the ivy-wreath on the obverse, and the grapes on the obverse of the smaller bronze denominations were all sacred attributes or symbols of Dionysos, the divine ancestor of the Attalid Dynasty (see cult of Dionysos). The bow-case on the reverse and the club and lion's skin on the reverse of the smaller denominations were the symbols of Herakles, father of Telephos, the mythical founder of Pergamon (see following section *Cult, Athena*).

Of all the kistophoroi in our possession, a group of fourteen seem strikingly different from the rest; for they incorporate the initials BA EY on the reverse (Fig. 13).⁶⁰ The coins come from the mints of Thyateira, Apollonis and Stratonikeia as the mint marks on the reverse indicate: ΘYA, ΑΠΟΛΛ, ΣΤΡΑ, respectively. Those from Thyateira have in the exergue of the reverse the monogram B, those from Apollonia Γ and Δ, and those from Stratonikeia Δ.

This group of kistophoroi was originally assigned to the reign of Eumenes II (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ).⁶¹ Robinson, however, has convincingly shown that the kistophoroi with the initials BA EY were struck by Aristonikos (ruled 133-129 BC), the illegitimate son of Eumenes II, during the second, third and fourth years of his revolt (132/131, 131/130, 130/129 BC).⁶² Robinson's argument was based on the history of Aristonikos' revolt and of the cities which minted these particular kistophoroi.⁶³

According to the ancient testimonies Aristonikos tried, in the period between 133 and 129 BC, to regain the throne of Pergamon after the death of Attalos III.⁶⁴ He moved from one city to the other, chased by the Romans. Before he fled to Stratonikeia, where he was eventually captured by the Romans in 129 BC, he had been in possession of the cities of Apollonia and Thyateira.⁶⁵ The kistophoroi were issued in the second, third and fourth

⁵⁹Polybius 31.6.6.

⁶⁰Fig. 13: Kleiner & Noe 103, series 1, 3h.

⁶¹There is further debate, however, on the date of issue. Imhoof-Blummer (F. Imhoof-Blummer, "Griechische Münzen" *Abh. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse* (Munich 1890 249-773) suggested that the letters B, Γ, and Δ referred to the second, third and fourth years, dating from the Peace of Apamea. Robert, on the other hand, interpreted the letters B, Γ, and Δ as the second, third and fourth years of Eumenes II's reign (196/5, 195/4, 194/3 BC); Robert (1935) 31-40, 48-49.

⁶²Justin 36.36; Plutarch *Flamininus* 21.6; Eutropius *Abridgement of Roman History* IV.20. E.G.S Robinson, "Cistophori in the name of king Eumenes", *NC* (London 1954) 6. His theory has been widely accepted: see e.g. Mørkholm (1991) 112; Kleiner-Noe 105-6.

⁶³Appian *Civil Wars* 1.18; Strabo 14.38; Eutropius 4.20; Livy *Summaries* 59.

⁶⁴Strabo 14.38; Eutropius 4.20; Livy *Summ.* 59.

⁶⁵Strabo 14.38.

years of his reign as he moved from Thyateira to Apollonia and finally Stratonikeia, and in the name of Eumenes which he had assumed.⁶⁶

Robinson's theory that Aristonikos assumed the name of his "father" Eumenes is made in the absence of any ancient sources to confirm it. However, the numismatic evidence suggests it is correct and there are in the immediately preceding period examples of pretenders who changed their names to those of previous kings in order to claim royal descent.

In 149 BC a certain Andriskos, pretender to the Macedonian throne, claimed to be the son of Perseus and, after assuming the name of his "grandfather" Philip V, led an army to take over Macedonia.⁶⁷ Similarly Eunous (135 BC), who led a revolution (the Servile War) of enslaved Syrians working in Sicilian estates, proclaimed himself king Antiochos and struck a small bronze coin at Enna bearing his title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY.⁶⁸ Memories of these two revolutions would be quite fresh in the years of Aristonikos' revolt and it is not unlikely that the pretender Aristonikos also assumed his "father's" name.

It is very likely also, that the two unique specimens of royal silver tetradrachms issued in the name ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ EYMENOY were minted in the years of Aristonikos' revolt (Fig. 14).⁶⁹ This coin type depicted on its obverse the portrait of a man with a receding forehead and a long, hooked, rather Semitic nose. On its reverse, two youthful male figures, each holding a spear are represented. They stand facing, wearing pointed caps and chlamydes. On either side of them is the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (right) and EYMENOY (left). The whole of the motif is encircled by a laurel wreath. Only two coins of this type have survived, one in the Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Fig. 14.1), the other in the British Museum (Fig. 14.2). In the exergue of the reverse are the initials ΔΙΑ (BM coin) or the initials AP (Paris coin). On the British Museum coin, a thyrsos is represented in the right field of the reverse; on the Paris coin a stylis in the left field of the reverse.

The provenance of these coins is unknown, but scholars have usually accepted the view that this type was struck during the reign of Eumenes II.⁷⁰ According to Bauslaugh this type was issued by Eumenes' brother (Attalos) when the former had been assumed dead in 172 BC after an accident at Delphi.⁷¹ For similar reasons to the ones given by Robinson for the BA EY kistophoroi, I believe that the details on these two surviving specimens indicate that this new type was issued by Aristonikos during the years 133-129

⁶⁶Robinson 6.

⁶⁷Eutropius 4.13; Livy *Summ.* 49.

⁶⁸Diod. Sic. 34.2.24; Florus *Epitome* 2.7.4; E.G.S Robinson, "Antiochos king of the Slaves" *NC* 20 (1920) 175-6; S. Sherwin-White and A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A new Approach to the Seleukid Empire* (London: Duckworth, 1993) 139.

⁶⁹Fig. 14: H. Nicolet-Pierre, "Monnaies de Pergame", in *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays: Numismatic studies in honour of C.M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm*, eds. G. Le Rider, K. Jenkins, N. Waggoner and U. Westermark (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989) 203-204, pls 47.1 (Fig. 14.1) 47.2 (Fig. 14.2).

⁷⁰Nicolet-Pierre 203; Imhoof-Blummer, *Die Münzen* 13; Wroth 117; Head 533; Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic coinage* 171.

⁷¹R.A. Bauslaugh, "The unique portrait of Eumenes II" *ANSMN* 27 (1982) 39-51; Livy, 42.15.3-16.5; Diod. Sic. 24.4; Appian *Macedonia* 11.4; Polyb. 22.18.8

BC, rather than by Attalos (II) in memory of his brother's presumed death (172 BC). (App. 2)

*Cults and festivals*⁷²

Athena

The most important deity in Pergamon was perhaps Athena. In Pergamon Athena was worshipped as Areia, Tauropolos, Polias, and Nikephoros.⁷³ According to a Pergamene inscription, dating from the reign of Eumenes I (263-241 BC), the cult of Athena had been introduced in Pergamon by Auge.⁷⁴ Mythologically, Auge was the priestess of Athena Alea at Tegea, daughter of Aleos king and founder of Tegea, and mother by Herakles of Telephos, the mythical ancestor of the Pergamenes.⁷⁵ An inscription from the time of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180) refers to the inhabitants of Pergamon as "Τηλεφίδαι".⁷⁶

The first temple of Athena was erected on the south-west corner of the Pergamene citadel. The lettering of two inscriptions, dedicated by a certain Pataras, on one of the columns of the pronaos has been used to place the temple in the reign of Philetairos (283-263 BC).⁷⁷ An archaistic relief found near the temple of Athena, dating to the 2nd century BC, depicted a palladion.⁷⁸ On the relief, the goddess wears a Korinthian helmet and stands on a base, on either side of which is a lion attacking a bull. A similarly archaistic palladion is also depicted on a marble slab probably from the Telephos frieze of the Great Altar.⁷⁹

A precinct sacred to Athena, the Nikephorion, was dedicated by Attalos I (241-197 BC) outside the city walls before the year 201 BC, when Philip V "destroyed the shrines and burnt the trees".⁸⁰ That the goddess Athena was, along with Zeus (see below), the most revered and honoured deity in Pergamon is attested by numerous inscriptions and victory monuments from the Pergamene acropolis. Most victory monuments erected on the

⁷²It is not in the interest of this study to present all the evidence concerning the different cults and festivals of Pergamon. Therefore, only the evidence on the cults of Athena, Zeus and Dionysos Kathegemon will be presented. Otherwise evidence on the cult of such deities as the Kabeiroi, Kybele, Demeter, Kore and Asklepios will be presented (where appropriate) in the following chapters.

⁷³IvP. 13 (Areia, Tauropolos), 14, 15, 223, 226 (Polias), 33-37, 51-56, 58, 60, 62-66, 69, 149, 160, 167, 194, 214, 215, 223, 225, 226 (Nikephoros). On the cults of Areia, and Tauropolos there is no information.

⁷⁴IvP. 156, ll. 23-24.

⁷⁵Pausanias 1.4.6.

⁷⁶IvP 8.1 p. 239 no. 324 l. 11.

⁷⁷IvP. 1, 2.

⁷⁸Winter 270-271, no.343, Beibl. 37; *LIMC* II s.v. Athena no.78.

⁷⁹H. Winnefeld, "Die Friese des groszen Altars", in *Altertümer von Pergamon* III.2 (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1910) 177, no. 20, Beibl. 31.7; in Berlin Staatliche Museum Inv. no. I 12.

⁸⁰Pol. 16.1.6-7; A. Conze, "Die Stadt", *Altertümer von Pergamon*, 1.2 (Berlin 1912-3), 223. The year 201 BC is the year that Philip V plundered the Nikephorion sanctuary. Therefore Conze suggested that it must have been dedicated before that year. As the evidence suggests (IvP. 33-37), the epithet Nikephoros was introduced after the year 223 BC and therefore the Nikephorion was probably dedicated to Athena between the years 223-201 BC. The location of the Nikephorion sanctuary has not been identified. It is believed that it lies under the site of a large military garrison located between the Musala Mezarlik hill and the Asklepieion.

Pergamene acropolis were dedicated to Athena or Athena Nikephoros and Zeus; these date from the reign of Attalos I (241-197 BC) to that of Attalos II (159-138 BC).⁸¹ Only Attalos I's first two victory monuments, erected in commemoration of his victories over the Gauls (*Round Base* ca. 240 BC) and Antiochos Hierax (*Long Base* ca. 226 BC), were dedicated to Athena alone.⁸²

A festival in honour of Athena (Panathenaia) was celebrated in Pergamon from the reign of Eumenes I (263-241 BC). The inscriptional evidence unfortunately provides insufficient material on the context of this festival.⁸³ The goddess Athena, as the city's patron-deity, featured also on the Pergamene royal coinage. The type of the seated Athena leaning her left arm against her shield appears for the first time in 297/6 BC on the reverse of coins issued by Lysimachos from the mints of Lysimachia, Sestos, Lampsakos, Abydos, Sardis, Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, Kolophon and Alexandria Troas.⁸⁴ Pergamon had been in Lysimachos' possession since 302 BC but did not issue tetradrachms bearing the seated Athena on the reverse until 286 BC; the obverse depicts the head of Herakles in lion's-skin.⁸⁵ Through the reigns of Philetairos (283-263 BC) and Eumenes I (263-241 BC) the official Pergamene coinage underwent changes until it reached a final form sometime during the reign of Attalos I (241-197 BC) bearing on its obverse the head of Philetairos and on the reverse Lysimachos' seated Athena.⁸⁶

It is noteworthy that the Attalids did not attempt to replace the seated Athena of Lysimachos on the reverse of their coins in the way of neighbouring cities: Alexandria Troas went back to representing on the reverse Apollo Smintheus, its patron-deity; Magnesia-on-the-Maeander represented Artemis or Apollo; Kolophon Apollo Kitharoedos.⁸⁷ Athena adequately answered the Pergamene need for a Greek identity. After all, the Pergamenes claimed that they were descendants of the Greek Telephos (son of Greek Herakles) and that the cult of Athena had been introduced to their city by his mother Auge, priestess of Athena Alea at Tegea and daughter of the king of Tegea. By

⁸¹IvP. 20-29, 33-37, 51-56, 151, 185 (Attalos I); 214-6, 225 (Attalos II).

⁸²IvP. 20 (*Round Base*), 21-28 (*Long Base*), 29 (Epigenes' monument).

⁸³The first references to the Panathenaia come from two inscriptions dated to the reign of Eumenes I. The first (IvP. 18.) consists of two parts: a letter from Eumenes to Pergamon praising five retiring generals for their administration of the city's finances and the answering letter from a certain Archestratos, son of Hermippos, a private citizen. It is clearly stated (ll. 17 and 31) that the generals were to be crowned at the Panathenaia. The second inscription (IvP. 156) is a decree of the city of Pergamon. It provides the information that the citizens of Tegea were to be "crowned" (ll. 12-13) at the Panathenaia. Moreover, according to Polybius (4.49.3) during the reign of Attalos I (241-197 BC) Prusias I, king of Bithynia, was angered by the Byzantines in the year 220 BC because they had sent representatives to sacrifices at the contests of Athena in Pergamon but none to the Soteria in Bithynia. Holleaux identified this festival as the Nikephoria, another festival of the goddess, but this identification should probably be rejected, for the epithet Nikephoros is absent from Polybius' passage; M. Holleaux, "Études d'histoire hellénistique: VI Sur la date de fondation des Nikephoria", *REA* 18 (1916) 170-1. Though born around 200 BC, Polybius lived during the reigns of Eumenes II and Attalos II at a time when the Nikephoria was well established (see below). If the contests to which he refers were at the Nikephoria, he would almost certainly have said so specifically; for he is quite specific about the Soteria in Bithynia.

⁸⁴Mørkholm (1991) 81.

⁸⁵Diodorus Siculus 20.107.205; Allen (1983) 9; M. Thompson, "The mints of Lysimachos", *Essays in Greek coinage presented to S. Robinson* (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1981) 166.

⁸⁶See above p. 22.

⁸⁷Head 540-1, 582-3, 570 respectively.

presenting Athena as the city's patron-deity, honoured in every aspect of their life (festivals, monuments, official royal coinage), the Pergamenes were strengthening their familial bonds with Greece and especially Tegea, claiming to be Greek in origin and still worshipping their ancestral goddess Athena.⁸⁸

Athena's importance in Pergamon grew even stronger in 223 BC when Attalos I, having defeated Seleukos III and the Gauls in war, dedicated a monument commemorative of his victory on the Pergamene acropolis to the goddess Athena Nikephoros (= bringer of victory).⁸⁹ From this time all monuments, altars and commemorative stelai were dedicated specifically to Athena Nikephoros.⁹⁰

The goddess Athena under the title Nikephoros was further honoured with the introduction of a new festival, the Nikephoria, probably introduced by Attalos I shortly after his victories in 223 BC but reorganised to reach pan-hellenic status on a par with the Pythian and the Olympic games by Eumenes II in 181 BC.⁹¹

Despite the large number of dedications and inscriptions referring to the goddess Athena Nikephoros, there is only one surviving iconographic representation of the goddess and that is on the reverse of a coin from the reign of Eumenes II (197-159 BC). The coin is a silver tetradrachm representing Medusa on the obverse and the goddess Athena Nikephoros on the reverse (Fig. 15). The peculiar representation of the goddess, combining both Greek and oriental elements, prompted modern scholars to suggest assimilation of attributes from the local goddess Kybele's attributes. However, a careful consideration of the cult and function of Athena in Pergamon indicates that this peculiar representation of Athena should probably be explained in relation to the contemporary historical and economic developments in the Pergamene kingdom.⁹² (App. 3)

Zeus

After Athena, Zeus received the greatest number of dedications in Pergamon. Most of the Attalid victory monuments on the Pergamene acropolis were dedicated to both Zeus and Athena.⁹³ Like Athena, Zeus had many epithets in Pergamon. He was worshipped as Keraunios, Tropaios, Soter, Boulaios, Sabazios and Philios.⁹⁴

⁸⁸IvP. 156.

⁸⁹IvP 33-37.

⁹⁰IvP. 51-6, 58, 60, 62-66, 69, 149, 160, 167, 194, 214-215, 223, 225-226.

⁹¹M. Segre, "L' institution des Nikephoria de Pergame", *Hellenica* ed. L. Robert, 5 (Paris, 1948) 104-5 (letter to Kos); *SIG* II 630 (Delphic Amphictyony); *SIG* II 629 (Aitolian League). On the Nikephoria festival and its date see also: Hansen 407-8; C.P. Jones, "Diodoros Paspáros and the Nikephoria of Pergamon" *Chiron* 4 (1974) 183-205 [lit.]. In the decrees it is also stated that the (new) Nikephorion sanctuary was to be declared inviolable. Jones (184) and Ohlmutz (34) argued that Attalus I instituted the Nikephoria in the late 220s, basing their argument on a passage in Polybius (4.49.3) referring to sacrifices and contests in honour of Athena in the year 220 BC. Allen argued against them suggesting that the festival was instituted by Eumenes II; (1983) 125-129. See also P.A. Pantos, "Τύποι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς στὴν Πέργαμο", *Φίλια ἔπη εἰς Γ.Ε. Μυλωνᾶν*, 3 (Athens 1986-89) 150-151.

⁹²A.S. Fanta, "The Medusa/Athena Nikephoros coin from Pergamon", *Athena in the Classical World* (Leiden: E.J. Brill forthcoming); App. 3.

⁹³IvP. 33-37, 51-56, 58, 60, 62-66, 69, 149, 151, 185, 194, 214-6, 225; only IvP. 20-29 (Round and Long Bases of Attalos I, see below p. 39) were dedicated to Athena alone.

⁹⁴IvP. 232 (Keraunios), 237, 239 (Tropaios) 246 (Soter and Boulaios), 248 (Sabazios), 206 (Philios). On the cult of Zeus Keraunios, Boulaios and Soter there is no information other than these isolated dedications. On

Our evidence for the cult of Zeus Philios comes from Roman imperial times during the reign of the emperor Trajan (AD 98-117). On the uppermost terrace of the Pergamene acropolis a Korinthian temple was erected by Trajan dedicated to Zeus Philios and Trajan.⁹⁵ Pergamene coins from the reign of Trajan represent on their obverse or reverse a tetrastyle temple within which Zeus Philios is seated on the right, holding a sceptre and a phiale (libation cup) and on the left is Trajan in military dress holding a spear.⁹⁶ On the basis of this evidence and Pausanias' statement (5.13.8) that there existed on the Pergamene acropolis an ancient altar of Zeus "made of the ashes of victims' thighs", Fränkel suggested that the cult of Trajan was superimposed upon a pre-existing cult of Zeus Philios.⁹⁷ In the absence of any pre-Roman foundations under Trajan's temple he suggested that Zeus Philios must have been worshipped there at an open-air altar, which has left no trace. In Pergamon however, the evidence of Zeus Philios' cult comes only from the Roman period and mainly from the reign of Trajan. The speculation that there was a cult of this Zeus in Pergamon during the reign of the Attalids is unsubstantiated; there is no contemporary evidence from the Attalid reign for a cult of Zeus Philios.⁹⁸

The cult of Zeus Sabazios in Pergamon seems to be associated with the cult of a divine ancestor. The evidence for his cult comes from two letters dating from the reign of Attalos III (139-133 BC). From the first letter of the king, addressed to the people of Pergamon and dated 5th of October 135 BC, we are informed that the cult of Zeus Sabazios "as an ancestral divinity" was introduced into Pergamon by Stratonike, daughter of king Ariarathes IV of Kappadokia, and mother of Attalos II.⁹⁹ From another letter to Kyzikos, dated 8th of October 135 BC, three days later than the above, we are informed that Athenaios (a relative of the Attalids), had been entrusted with the hereditary priesthood of Zeus Sabazios by Attalos II, and upon his father's (Sosandros) death received the priesthood of Dionysos Kathegemon as well.¹⁰⁰

As the cult of Dionysos Kathegemon was the cult of an Attalid divine ancestor (see below, Dionysos) and as the priesthoods of Dionysos Kathegemon and Zeus Sabazios were entrusted to the same person (Athenaios), a relative of the royal family, von Prott suggested that the cult of Zeus Sabazios was closely linked to that of Dionysos Kathegemon.¹⁰¹ In

Zeus Tropaios we learn from an inscription (IvP. 247 col. II ll.1-4) that the 18th of each month was celebrated as a holiday in his honour because on that day he manifested himself in a battle of Attalos II and drove the enemy to flight by his appearance (the event is not recorded).

⁹⁵IvP 8.2 p. 206.

⁹⁶Wroth 142 no.262.

⁹⁷IvP. 8.2 p. 206.

⁹⁸Pausanias' testimony dates to his observations made in the mid-second century AD and, in any case, need not refer specifically to a cult of Zeus Philios. Pergamon was sacred to Zeus because, according to a local legend, the Great Gods Kabeiroi had witnessed the birth of Zeus from her acropolis; IvP 324 ll.17-19; Dio Chrysostom *Discourses* 48.5. The importance of the cult of Zeus in Pergamon is attested by the dedication of numerous altars and victory monuments to him. But that alone, cannot argue the case for a cult of Zeus Philios in Pergamon during the Attalid period.

⁹⁹Welles no.67 ll. 5-6.

¹⁰⁰Welles no.66 ll. 7-15. Athenaios was the son of Sosander, priest of Dionysos Kathegemon, who married the daughter of Athenaios the son of Midias, and cousin of the Attalids. According to the letter (l. 15) Athenaios received the priesthood of Dionysos Kathegemon on the 18th year of Attalos II's reign 142 BC.

¹⁰¹von Prott 163.

effect, von Prott argued that the cult of Zeus Sabazios was that of the divine ancestor of the Kappadokian royal house (Stratonike) as Dionysos Kathegemon was the divine ancestor of the Attalid (Eumenes II). Thus, Attalos III, as son of Eumenes II and Stratonike, claimed divine descent from Dionysos (on the male side of his line), and Zeus Sabazios (on his mother's side).

Dionysos

The cult of Dionysos in Pergamon seems to have been of equal importance as he was, according to Pausanias (10.15.2-3), the god from whom the Attalids claimed divine descent. A Delphic oracle and another delivered by a woman called Phainnis foretold that the Greek cities of Asia Minor would be saved from the menace of the invading Gauls by Attalos of Pergamon (Attalos I), son of the "bull-horned" Dionysos.¹⁰² The earliest extant reference from Pergamon to Dionysos comes from a letter of Eumenes II, dated to the later years of his reign and addressed to the Ionian guild of the artists of Dionysos at Teos.¹⁰³ In the letter the god Dionysos has the specific title Kathegemon. Von Prott has suggested that the epithet Kathegemon was equivalent to "Ἀρχηγέτης τοῦ γένους" meaning "ancestor of the Attalids".¹⁰⁴

A letter of Attalos II, addressed to his cousin Athenaios and written on 25th of December 142 BC, informs us that Eumenes II had installed Sosandros (the addressee's son-in-law) as priest of Dionysos Kathegemon (ll. 2-3) and that the priesthood was hereditary.¹⁰⁵ The epithet Kathegemon first appears on dedications in the reign of Attalos II (159-138 BC).¹⁰⁶

Unfortunately, however, very little survives on the context of the rituals and cult of Dionysos Kathegemon in Pergamon.¹⁰⁷ It seems, however, that his cult was associated with an organised guild of performers known as "Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ περὶ τὸν Καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον".¹⁰⁸ The Ionian guild of Dionysiac Artists was one of four similar guilds which were originally formed to cope with the demand for artists to perform at various festivals.¹⁰⁹ This guild was

¹⁰²*Suda* s.v. *Attalos* (Delphic oracle); Pausanias 10.15.2-3 (Phainnis).

¹⁰³IvP 163 = Welles no. 53, p. 231. On the date of the letter see below n. 112 p. 31.

¹⁰⁴von Prott 162-6.

¹⁰⁵Welles no.65.

¹⁰⁶IvP. 221-2, 236.

¹⁰⁷For an analysis of the evidence see D. Musti, "Il Dionisismo degli Attalidi: Antecedenti, Modelli, Sviluppi" in *L' Association Dionysiaque dans les Sociétés Anciennes*, Actes de la table ronde organisée par l' École française de Rome, Rome 24-25 mai 1984 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1986) 105-128.

¹⁰⁸Welles no.53; meaning, "The guild of the artists of Dionysos and Dionysos Kathegemon from Ionia and the Hellespont"; on the date of the letter see below n 112 p. 31.

¹⁰⁹The other three were: the Isthmian-Nemean guild (*SIG.* 460; dated to ca. 279 BC), the Athenian (*IG* I 1039, II.2 1132; dated to 279/8 BC), and the Egyptian guild of Artists (*OGIS* 50-51; dated to ca. 276-250 BC). On the Dionysiac guilds see also: A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The dramatic festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 279-305; I.E. Stephanis, *ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑΚΟΙ ΤΕΧΝΙΤΑΙ* (Crete 1988) 273-276; W.S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens: A historical essay* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1911) 215; E. Csapo and W.J. Slater, *The context of Ancient Drama* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994) 239-255. The Artists of Dionysos first appear as an identifiable body of performers (not yet organised into guilds) ca. 330 BC; Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1405 a23. The actual process of the organisation of the guilds is not yet known, but it is believed to have taken place in the 3rd century BC and to have probably been associated with the

originally known as " as "Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου". It is first mentioned in an Aitolian decree of about 227 BC which grants "ἀσφάλεια" (security) and "ἀσυλεία" (immunity) to its registered members.¹¹⁰ Its centre was at Teos. After the Treaty of Apamea (188 BC) Teos became a tributary city of Pergamon.¹¹¹ The original guild of Artists was renamed " Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ περὶ τὸν Καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον", to allow for the amalgamation of the Artists of Dionysos Kathegemon in Pergamon with the Ionian Guild. It is not known exactly when this merger took place.¹¹² Our first reference to the guild's work is in a letter of Eumenes II addressed to the Ionian guild.¹¹³ It concerns their relation with the city of Teos and is dated by the palaeography of the inscription to the middle of Eumenes' reign.¹¹⁴ Another important decree from Teos (before 167 BC) refers to honours granted by the enlarged Ionian guild of Artists to Kraton, the priest of Dionysos at Teos.¹¹⁵ Kraton was a flute-player (l. 6) and had distinguished himself in many contests. For this reason and for his benefactions towards the guild (ll. 7-15) he had been awarded the highest office in the guild, the priesthood of Dionysos.

We know very little about the guild's internal organisation. Two of its eponymous officers were a priest of the god and an *agonothetes* (magistrate responsible for the conduct of competitive festivals).¹¹⁶ Apart from the Dionysia at Teos, the guild celebrated its own *panegyris* in Teos, of which we know nothing apart from its existence, and an annual festival in honour of Eumenes II, conducted by an *agonothetes* who was also "the priest of the king".¹¹⁷ The guild participated in festivals other than the Dionysia at Teos, such as the musical festivals of the Pythia and Soteria at Delphi, the Musea at Thespieae and the Heraklea at Thebes.¹¹⁸

Ruler Cult

From the evidence for the cult of the Attalid divine ancestor we move to the subject of Attalid ruler cult. Before one examines the evidence for Attalid ruler-cult, it is important to make a distinction between "civic ruler-cult" and state (ruler) organised "ruler-cult". Civic ruler-cults were voluntarily introduced by individual Greek cities of their own accord without direct orders from the ruler. They usually resulted from royal benefactions (i.e. financial or other forms of contribution) to the city or from local honours following the

general organisation of festivals in the Greek world to include an entire range of competitions on stage (not just drama but also musical contests); Csapo & Slater 239.

¹¹⁰SIG. II 507; Pickard-Cambridge 291.

¹¹¹Pol. 21.45.2; SEG II 580, ll. 16-18; Allen (1983) 103.

¹¹²When Eumenes II wrote to the Ionian guild at Teos the merger of the guild with the Pergamene Artists of Dionysos Kathegemon had already taken place. Teos joined the Pergamene kingdom in 188 BC; so the merger could certainly not have taken place before that. It most probably occurred between 188 and 177/6 BC and the letter of Eumenes II was written in that period, even as late as 177/6 BC.

¹¹³Welles no.53.

¹¹⁴Welles p. 231. It is our first indication a group of Artists in which Dionysos has the specific title Kathegemon.

¹¹⁵CIG no.3067 (= IG XI.4 1061).

¹¹⁶C. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques* (Paris, 1900-1912) no.1061 A, 1.

¹¹⁷IG XI.4 (CIG no. 3067) no.1061, ll. 3-6 (agonothetes and priest) l. 24 (panegyris).

¹¹⁸Michel no.1015, ll. 19-20.

ruler's military victories.¹¹⁹ State (ruler) ruler-cult, on the other hand, was instituted, organised and imposed by the rulers within their kingdom.¹²⁰

Secular honours

In the Pergamene kingdom the first honours (though not divine) bestowed upon the Attalid kings are in the form of eponymous festivals. At Delos we hear of the Philetaireia and the Eumeneia festivals instituted in honour of Philetairos and Eumenes I ca.262 BC in return for their support against the Gauls in the 270s.¹²¹ For the same reason another Philetaireia was instituted in Kyzikos (mid. 270s).¹²² There were other similar honours conferred upon the Attalids in the form of festivals: at Tralles in honour of Eumenes II Soter in 166 BC for his victories over the Gauls; at Delphi in honour of Eumenes II and his brother Attalos (co-regent at the time, 160/59 BC, and later Attalos II) for financial contributions at Delphi; and at Sardis in honour of Athena and Eumenes II "in gratitude for the deliverance" from the Gallic menace (166 BC).¹²³ Yet, these festivals cannot be interpreted as signs of worship as they were instituted in the king's name (ὕπρ τοῦ βασιλέως) rather than "for" or "to" him.¹²⁴ The aim was to express a particular city's gratitude for some benefaction (financial or military).

Further honours are recorded after the victories of Eumenes II over the Gauls in 166 BC. The Ionian League voted to award him a gold crown for valour, to erect a gilded statue of him and to celebrate games in his honour at the Pan-Ionian festival and throughout the cities of the League.¹²⁵ All these honours may be considered as signs of veneration but there is no reason to see behind them an attempt to deify Eumenes II during his lifetime. The crowning of a person is a practice appropriate to a benefactor. An inscription from Pergamon during the reign of Eumenes I (263-241 BC) makes provision for the public crowning of five generals (l. 17) at the Panathenaia in Pergamon for their services to the city.¹²⁶ Eumenes II's crown is fitting for a king and benefactor. The gilded statue voted by the Ionian League is not necessarily a cult statue.

Outside Pergamon: Cult honours and deification

The first signs of cult honours are recorded in the reign of Attalos I. An inscription from Athens records that Attalos was to be made *synnaos* in Aigina with Aiakos, the island's hero.¹²⁷ According to Allen this document should be dated after 210 BC when

¹¹⁹Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 116; S.R.F Price, "Between man and god: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial cult" *JRS* 70 (1980) 28-40.

¹²⁰Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 116-7; Price 28-40.

¹²¹The first prize-vase from the Philetaireia festival was dedicated in 262 BC; *IG* XI.2, no.224 A, l.4; and Eumenes I's statue is the earliest known of an Attalid on the island, *IG* XI.4, no.1107.

¹²²*IG* 3660, l. 15.

¹²³Musical contests, probably called Eumeneia, Robert (1934) 279 (Tralles). *SIG* II 671-2: two decrees instituting two festivals, the Eumeneia and the Attaleia (Delphi). *OGIS* 305 (Sardis) two festivals: the Athenaia and the Eumeneia.

¹²⁴Allen 148.

¹²⁵*OGIS* 763; winter of 167/6 BC.

¹²⁶*IvP*. 18.

¹²⁷*IG* II.2 885 ll. 11-13; Allen (1983) 208 App. IV nr. 2.

Attalos I bought the island from the Aitolians for the sum of thirty talents.¹²⁸ A few years later (ca. 200 BC) a tribe in Athens was named "Attaleis" and a priesthood of Attalos was instituted.¹²⁹ In the case of Athens Attalos received these honours as a sign of gratitude and high honour in return for Pergamon's role as leader of the anti-Macedonian cities which had repelled the advances of Philip V of Macedon in the Second Macedonian war (202-197 BC). The case of Aigina, however, is different. According to Pausanias (10.15.2-3) the Attalids claimed divine descent from Dionysos and subsequently, according to Allen, from Zeus himself (Dionysos being son of Zeus and Semele).¹³⁰ According to the ancient sources, Aiakos was the son of Zeus and the nymph Aigina and the only known king of the island.¹³¹ By designating Attalos "synnaos" with Aiakos, Allen argues, the Aiginians were making him a "νέος κτίστης" alongside their mythical founder Aiakos.¹³² On the island of Aigina there was also an *Attaleion*, a place for the cult of the Pergamene kings.¹³³ These instances represent the first signs of cult in honour of an Attalid king but they are insufficient to constitute evidence of a state (ruler) imposed ruler-cult.

A decree of the city of Teos, dated between 166-159 BC, refers to priesthoods of king Eumenes, queen Stratonike and of the goddess Apollonis Eusebes (Eumenes' mother).¹³⁴ From this decree we see established the practice of calling an Attalid ruler or immediate family-member "theos" after his/her death. Although the living king and queen (Eumenes II and Stratonike) are not called gods (ll. 5-6), Apollonis (Eumenes' deceased mother) is referred to as "goddess Apollonis Eusebes" and provision is made for her to be *synnaos* with Aphrodite. That the deceased Apollonis was worshipped as a goddess is also attested in a decree from Hierapolis, issued on the occasion of her death; it states that she has departed to the gods (= μεθέστηκεν εἰς θεούς l. 4).¹³⁵

The only case of direct deification of an Attalid may come from Miletos. The city of Miletos was given independent status in the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BC as a reward for co-operating with Rome and Pergamon in the war against Antiochos III of Syria (192-188 BC).¹³⁶ It was probably the only city, from the entire Pergamene kingdom to introduce a cult for the worship of Eumenes II as god during his lifetime. The evidence is derived from a royal letter and Milesian decrees dated in the last decade of Eumenes II's reign (197-159 BC).¹³⁷ In Eumenes' letter (*OGIS* 763) or reply to the honours voted him by the Ionian League (winter of 167/6 BC), it is stated (ll. 59-60) that the gilded statue voted by

¹²⁸ Allen 147; Pol. 22.8.10.

¹²⁹ Pol. 16.25; Cardinali 145-6.

¹³⁰ R.E. Allen, "Attalos I and Aigina" *BSA* 66 (1971) 8.

¹³¹ Cf. e.g. Pindar *O.* 8.30, 50; *P.* 8.99, *N.* 3.28, 4.71; Apollodoros 3.12.6; Pausanias 2.29.2. Aiakos fathered Peleus and Telamon and was the grandfather of Ajax, son of Telamon.

¹³² Allen (1971) 10.

¹³³ *OGIS* 329 l. 47.

¹³⁴ *OGIS* no.309 (Apollonis, mother of Eumenes II, outlived her spouse Attalos I by far, dying between 166-159 BC). Pol. 21.45.2, ll. 16-18; C. Thomas, "The Sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon: Cultic Space for Women and its Eclipse" in *Pergamon: the Citadel of the Gods* (1998) 287 n. 31.

¹³⁵ *OGIS* no.308, l. 4.

¹³⁶ Livy 36.16.12, 17.3; Pol. 21.45.5, 46.5.

¹³⁷ *OGIS* 763 (letter). T. Wiegand, "Inchriften aus der Levante II", *AM* 36 (1911) 26-29.; P. Hermann, "Neue Urkunden zur Geschichte von Milet im 2 J. v. Chr." *Ist.Mitt.* 15 (1965) 71-117, no.1 A (decrees).

the League for erection wherever he chose (ll. 26-27) was to be set up in the precinct dedicated to the Attalids in Miletos. A decree issued by the city of Miletos refers to honours voted by the city to Eumenes II and his two brothers, Athenaios and Attalos.¹³⁸ These honours included the celebration of Eumenes' birthday (ll. 9-10). From two other decrees dated in the 160s we derive the information that Eumenes had provided the capital for the city's gymnasium and had received honours from the city as its benefactor.¹³⁹ In another decree, dated to the last years of Eumenes' life (late 160s), the city of Miletos includes provision for a priesthood of the god Eumenes.¹⁴⁰ According to Appian (*Syria* 65) this is not the first time that Miletos had called a royal benefactor god. Antiochos II (261-246 BC) had been so designated for his assassination of Timarchos, the Aitolian tyrant of Miletos, in 255 BC.¹⁴¹ Habicht suggests that this kind of worship was "civic", the spontaneous reaction of a not necessarily subject city, and that it must be distinguished from the cases of "state" cults introduced as a result of royal edict.¹⁴²

Miletos' decision to introduce a cult of Eumenes II during his lifetime should probably be attributed to the city's independent political status after the treaty of Apamea in 188 BC.¹⁴³ Ephesos also received favours after the treaty; as at Miletos, Eumenes II financed the institution of a gymnasium.¹⁴⁴ Yet it was Miletos (the independent city) that honoured Eumenes by introducing a cult in his honour. Ephesos, still part (subject city) of the Pergamene kingdom, indeed its largest port, probably felt itself more entitled to royal patronage and prosperity than Miletos and consequently would be less prone to the extravagant gesture of introducing a ruler-cult.

Strabo (14.1.24, 641) informs us that the city of Ephesos was a centre of major building activity financed not only by Eumenes II but also by his successor Attalos II (159-138 BC). Decrees and royal letters indicate that Ephesian citizens occupied high ranks in Attalid royal administration.¹⁴⁵ Miletos, on the other hand, which depended on trade by sea for its economic prosperity began to decline after the treaty of Apamea; its port even started to "silt up".¹⁴⁶ By becoming a centre of Eumenes' worship, Miletos may have aspired to gain the king's guaranteed goodwill, and the commercial prosperity that might somehow occur from the king's cult.¹⁴⁷ In this respect it seems probable that the cult of the living Eumenes II in Miletos was introduced on the city's own initiative, not at Attalid instigation.

¹³⁸Wiegand 27-29.

¹³⁹Herman 71-117, no.1 A.; Wiegand 26-7.

¹⁴⁰Hermann 71-117, no.2b.

¹⁴¹A. Bouche-Leclercq, *Histoire des Seleukides*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1914) 1.81-2, 2 621; Allen (1983) 119.

¹⁴²C. Habicht, "Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte" *Zetemata* 14 (Munich, 1970 rev. ed.) 160.

¹⁴³Allen (1983) 120-1.

¹⁴⁴Hermann *IstMitt* 15 (1965) 71-117 no. 1A ll. 6-7; dated to ca. 160s.

¹⁴⁵*SIG* II 642, Welles nos.49-50; *Ins. von Ephesos* no.202.

¹⁴⁶Strabo 16.635.

¹⁴⁷Habicht 165; Allen (1983) 121.

The practice of ruler-cult in Pergamon itself was associated with a group called "Attalistai". A letter written to the Attalistai by Kraton, dated in the 7th year of Attalos II's reign (153/2 BC), refers to the group as his (Kraton's) creation and makes provision for a priest of god Eumenes.¹⁴⁸ From a decree of the Attalistai, dated to ca. 146 BC and issued after Kraton's death, we are informed that at some point in Eumenes II's reign, Kraton moved from Teos to Pergamon where, according to an inscription, he was granted Pergamene citizenship for his zeal and devotion to the Ionian guild of Artists and the king.¹⁴⁹ From the same decree we are also informed that during Kraton's stay in Pergamon he provided the Attalistai with an "Attaleion" beside the theatre; a common dwelling of the Attalistai near the royal palace; an income of 10,000 drachmai for sacrifices and meetings; a number of slaves; and a "sacred law" concerning the practice of ruler-cult, which Attalos II sent to the union of the Attalistai.¹⁵⁰

Hansen suggests that the union incorporated men chosen by Kraton from the Ionian guild of Artists.¹⁵¹ Three inscriptions from the reign of Attalos II (159-138 BC) testify to their function as a body involved in the ruler-cult who offered sacrifices either to the king or, according to Maggie, to his father Attalos I.¹⁵² The location of the Attaleion is debated, some suggesting that it was stationed at Teos, others at Pergamon.¹⁵³

The complex building along the main road leading up to the citadel, has been identified as the *temenos* for the cult of the ruler (Map 1). It has been called so because its main building closely resembles in plan the sacred house in Priene, probably an Alexandreion, and the *heroon* at Kalydon.¹⁵⁴ The *temenos* was dated by the excavator (Boehringer) to the reign of Attalos I. However, his conclusions were contested by Wensler who dates the structure to the reign of Eumenes II.¹⁵⁵

From the above, one may deduce that the first priesthood seems to emerge with the settlement of Kraton in Pergamon and with the establishment of the Attalistai sometime during the reign of Eumenes II. The lack of evidence for a priesthood of an Attalid ruler in Pergamon before the time of Kraton, makes it probable that the Attalids enjoyed cult

¹⁴⁸CIG II 3070.

¹⁴⁹OGIS 326 ll. 15-16 = CIG II 3069 (Kraton moves to Pergamon); CIG II 3068 C (Pergamene citizenship). There is no way of determining the exact date of Kraton's death.

¹⁵⁰OGIS 326; Pickard-Cambridge 293 n.6.

¹⁵¹Hansen 418.

¹⁵²CIG nos. 3069-71; D. Magie, *Roman rule in Asia Minor* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950) 2 900-1.

¹⁵³The debate rests mainly on the fact that the Attalistai decree (see above n. 150) was found at Teos and not in Pergamon. Teos: Dittenberger OGIS no.326 n.13; Kern, *RE* (1896) sv. Attaleion. Pergamon: Conze *AvP* I.2 229; Cardinali 151 n.1; Ohlmutz 100-1; Magie 900; Allen (1983) 153; Hansen (420-421) also argues the possibility there were two Attaleia, one by the theatre and one by the royal palace; the latter being identified as the *temenos* for the cult of the ruler (see below).

¹⁵⁴Boehringer and Krauss 4, 7, 81-92. Hansen (420) and B.L. Kutbay identify it as the Eumeneion mentioned in an inscription (IvP no. 240) dated to the reign of Attalos II (159-139 BC); *Palaces and Large Residences of the Hellenistic Age*, Studies in Classics vol. 8 (Lampeter 1998) 125.

¹⁵⁵Boehringer 85; A.F. Wensler, "Zur Datierung des Temenos für den Herrscherkult in Pergamon" *AA* (1989) 33-42. His view was subsequently contested by Rheidt, (1992) 280-281, figs. 15c-e. who identified the structure as related to the relocated, by Eumenes II, covered market (see above p. 5 n. 18).

honours conferred upon them by individual cities outside the city of Pergamon, but probably did not attempt to introduce a state dynastic cult. In Pergamon, even though Kraton's letter to the Attalistai (written during the reign of Attalos II) refers to a priest of the god Eumenes, there is no evidence that Eumenes was considered a god during his lifetime.¹⁵⁶ In fact, the first hard evidence of an Attalid aspiring to lifetime deification does not emerge until the reign of Attalos III (138-133 BC).

Pergamon: lifetime deification

In a decree honouring Attalos III for a military victory he is referred to as the "son of the god king Eumenes Soter" (l. 22).¹⁵⁷ It is further decreed that, when the ruler comes to the city, "each *stephanephoros* of the twelve gods and of the god king Eumenes is to wear a crown" (ll. 26-28). This decree is significant not so much for the posthumous deification of Eumenes II as for the decision that a statue, five cubits high, representing a warrior clad in full armour and treading upon the spoils of the conquered, was to be dedicated in the temple of Asklepios Soter so "that the king (Attalos III) may dwell in the same temple with the god" (ll. 7-9). In effect he was to be *synnaos* with Asklepios Soter. Attalos III was thus the first Attalid king to depart from his predecessors' tradition and regard himself, or at least allow himself to be regarded, as the incarnation of a god. He did not assume the title "theos" but the decree implies open proclamation that he was divine. In this respect he was exceptional within the Attalid dynasty.

*Art of Pergamon*¹⁵⁸

Copies

The Attalids were ardent collectors and copyists of earlier works of art.¹⁵⁹ Athena, as goddess of wisdom, was depicted in a 2nd century BC copy of Pheidias' (5th century BC) Athena Parthenos that was commissioned by Eumenes II to be set up in the Pergamene library (Fig. 16).¹⁶⁰ Another copy of a Pheidian work, Athena Lemnia, has recently (although not necessarily convincingly) been identified in the 2nd century BC statue of Athena with the cross-band aegis found in the last of the

¹⁵⁶See above n. 148, p. 35.

¹⁵⁷IvP. 246.

¹⁵⁸This section includes a very small but representative number of Pergamene works of art. For a comprehensive summary and good bibliographical references to studies on Pergamene art, including toreutics, pottery and terracottas, see Hansen 275-351.

¹⁵⁹Attalos I is famous for transporting to the city well known works of art; IvP 50 (ca. 198 BC; a work by the 4th century BC Athenian sculptor Silanion, from Oreos in Euboeia); IvP. 47-48; Pausanias 8.42.7; Livy 38.7.4-5; *Anth. Pal.* (ca. 209 BC: bronze Apollo from Aigina by the early 5th century BC Aiginitan sculptor Onatas); IvP 49; Pausanias 6.14.11 (ca. 209 BC; a work by the late 3rd century BC sculptor Theron). In the reign of Eumenes II a great marble base was set up bearing inscriptions of well known artists such as Praxiteles, Myson and Xenokrates (IvP. 135-141). Attalos II offered 100 talents for the paintings by Apelles' contemporary Aristides, when Korinth was sacked by the Romans in 146 BC (Pliny 35.24). According to a Delphic inscription, Attalos II also sent three Pergamene artists to copy paintings in Delphi (dated to ca. 141/0 BC); B. Hassoullier, "Inscriptions de Delphes" *BCH* V (1881) 388-390.

¹⁶⁰Strabo *Geography* XII.4.2; Winter 33-46, no.24, pl.8. (Photo by A.S. Fanta)

western rooms behind the north stoa, dating to the 2nd century BC (Fig. 17).¹⁶¹ The goddess is wearing a long sleeveless, overgirt chiton fastened around the waist by a girdle consisting of two serpents, whose necks are knotted on the front. Two narrow aegis strips, laid over each shoulder, are crossing each other on the breast and back. On the front intersection is a *gorgoneion*. The arrangement of the hair is also unusual as it is combed back from the forehead and high from the neck. The presence of holes in the temples indicates that the goddess wore a wreath. In her left hand she was probably holding a spear and in her right either a Nike, an owl or a helmet.

In the same room as this statue was another, also dating to the 2nd century BC, depicting Hera. This has often been compared to Venus Genetrix, to the Iris of the Parthenon's east pediment, to a Karyatid of the Erechtheion and to Alkamenes' Prokne.¹⁶² It has also been argued that a copy of Pheidias' Athena Promachos, commissioned by Attalos I, stood on the Round Base in the precinct of Athena's temple on the Pergamene acropolis.¹⁶³

This theory was accepted by Pantos, who suggested that the cult statue of the Pergamene Athena Promachos can be identified on the seal (Inv. nr. 221) from the Aitolian city Kallipolis.¹⁶⁴ On the seal the goddess is depicted standing, with her body turned 3/4 to the right. She wears a long chiton, holding in her raised right hand a spear. On her chest there are traces of the aegis and on her head she wears a polos consisting of two parts: a lower base-like part and an upper resembling a tower. Pantos noticed that the peculiar tower-like polos of the goddess resembled the crown of the Hellenistic Tyche of Antioch. The introduction of Tyche elements to the Promachos type was interpreted by Pantos as the Pergamene effort to depict their goddess showing favour to the city of Pergamon and the king.¹⁶⁵

Originals

As patrons of art the Attalids invited to their court a large number of artists from various places and sculptural backgrounds to work alongside Pergamene artists. Among the earliest artists who worked at Philetairos' court were two Athenians, Nikeratos and Phryomachos. Nikeratos celebrated the king's victory over the Gauls at Delphi (279-8 BC) in works of bronze, some of which were later set up on Delos by someone called Sosikrates

¹⁶¹Winter 13-25, no.22, pl.II-V; A. Conze, "Ueber eine Athenastatue aus Pergamon", *SBA* (1893) 209-218; H. Meyer, "Athena Lemnia (Typus Fier - Berlin - Richmond). Zur Identifizierung des meistgerühmten phidiasischen Werkes und seiner Überlieferung", in *Festschrift für Thuri Lorenz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. G. Erath, M. Lehner and G. Schwarz (Vienna: Phoibos, 1997) 111-117. For other identification theories see Hansen, 319-320 and notes. (Photo by A.S. Faita)

¹⁶²*AvP* 7, 25-33, no. 23 Pls. 6, 7; Hansen 320.

¹⁶³J.L. Ussing, *Pergamos. Seine Geschichte und Monumente* (Berlin-Stuttgart 1899) 12. R. Wenning, "Die Galateranatheme Attalos I" *Pergamenische Forschungen* 4 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 1978) 38, n.249. E. Künzl, *Die Kelten des Epigonos von Pergamon, Beiträge zur Archäologie*, 4 (Würzburg: K. Triltsch 1971) 21-22, n.80; H.J. Schalles, *Untersuchungen zur Kulturpolitik der pergamenischen Herrscher im dritten Jahrhundert vor Christus* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth 1985) 53-56.

¹⁶⁴The seal is dated ca. the end of the 3rd century BC and is in the Museum of Delphi (Inv. 14196). Pantos 159-160, 165, pl. 43 ζ.

¹⁶⁵Pantos 161.

(ca. 200 BC).¹⁶⁶ The same Nikeratos later collaborated with Phyromachos on a dedication to Athena dated ca. 230 BC.¹⁶⁷ The most famous work of Phyromachos is considered to be a group depicting Asklepios and Hygeia, made for the Asklepion at Pergamon.¹⁶⁸ He is also reported to have worked together with other artists in representing the battles of Attalos and Eumenes against the Gauls.¹⁶⁹

Perhaps the most famous Pergamene sculptor was Epigonos. His name has been associated with many victory monuments from the reign of Attalos I; of these, one was a portrait statue of the king dedicated by Epigenes (Attalos' general) and the king's fellow officers and soldiers after the victories over the Gauls and Antiochos Hierax (229/8 BC); and the other was the Long Base commemorating the king's victories from 241 to 226 BC.¹⁷⁰ Another well known Pergamene work of art (artist unknown) is the marble Pasquino group traditionally identified as Menelaos holding the body of Patroklos, but also seen as Ajax or Odysseus with the body of Achilles.¹⁷¹ At least thirteen copies of it are known but the reconstruction of the group was achieved by Schweitzer on the basis of three copies, one standing near the Palazzo Braschi in Rome, another in the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence, and the third in the Palazzo Pitti.¹⁷² The group is particularly interesting as its pyramidal composition, the pathetic expression on the face of Menelaos, and the lifeless figure of Patroklos strongly recall the group of the suicidal Gaul and his wife from the Attalid *Round Base* (see below).

Other famous sculptures from Pergamon include: a group depicting the punishment of Marsyas, from which several copies of the victim survive showing him suspended by the wrists from a tree-trunk; the erotic *symplegma* of Kephisodotos (now lost); a *hermaphrodite* statue now in Istanbul; and the Prometheus group now in Berlin depicting Herakles freeing Prometheus in the presence of the mountain god Kaukasos (Fig. 18).¹⁷³

¹⁶⁶IG 11.4, 1105; see also above n 8, p. 17.

¹⁶⁷IvP 132-4; see also Hansen, 276 n 4 on other works of Nikeratos in Pergamon.

¹⁶⁸Pliny 34.80; they were later installed in the temple of Concord in Rome. On the date of Phyromachos see Chapter 1 n 89.

¹⁶⁹Pliny 34.84; see also Chapter 1 p. 15 n. 88 and below on "Attalid dedications" p. 39. For the epigraphic evidence testifying to the presence of more non-Pergamene artists working in the city see Chapter 1 pp. 12-13, nn. 66-67, 74.

¹⁷⁰IvP. 29 (Epigenes'), 21-28 (Long Base); see also IvP. 31, 32 and below on the Attalid dedications.

¹⁷¹Smith nos. 133.1-3 (Pasquino). For a recent discussion on the proposed identifications, see U. Hausmann, "Aias mit dem Leichnam Achills: Zur Deutung der Pasquino-Gruppe" *AM* 99(1984) 291-300; B. Andreae *Odysseus: Archäologie des europäischen Menschenbildes* (Frankfurt 1982) 16-167.

¹⁷²B. Schweitzer, "Das Original der sogenannten Pasquino-Gruppe" *ASA Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 43.4 (Leipzig: 1936). Schweitzer assigned the group to the sculptor Antigonos of Karystos (see below p. 48 n. 236). His hypothesis however, is unfounded; J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 118, fig. 119. Schweitzer dated the group to the end of the 3rd century BC, and although it has frequently been challenged the date is more or less accepted; Pollitt 310 n.8. See also B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1990) 275-281 and bib.; Smith 104-105.

¹⁷³Smith, nos. 135-136 (Marsyas); Pliny 36.24 (*symplegma*); *AvP* 7, 132-133, no.115 Pl. 10, Beib. 16 (*hermaphrodite*); *AvP* 7, 175-180, no. 168 (found in the north stoa of the Athena sanctuary) Prometheus group Fig. 18 (Photo by A.S. Faïta).

Attalid dedications

The Attalid dedications are the most important victory monuments commemorating Attalos I's victories in war. These monuments include: the Round Base, situated in the centre of Athena's sanctuary on the Pergamene acropolis; the Long Base, probably situated at the south end of the Athena sanctuary; and the Lesser Gauls set up on the Athenian acropolis.¹⁷⁴

The dedicatory inscription (dated to ca. 240 BC) of the *Round Base* read:

"King Attalos having conquered in battle the Tolistoagii Gauls
around the springs of the river Kaikos (set up this) thank offering
to Athena."¹⁷⁵

The round base was 3.15m in diameter and according to Schober's reconstruction (Fig. 20), it involved a central group of a Gaul committing suicide after killing his wife (Fig. 21).¹⁷⁶ The central piece was surrounded by figures of dying and wounded Gauls. Unfortunately however, we only have marble Roman copies of individual figures (see below on reconstruction).

The dedicatory inscription of the *Long base* read:

"King Attalos from the contests in war (set up these)
thank offerings to Athena".¹⁷⁷

The monument was 1m in height and depth and perhaps 19m long.¹⁷⁸ It was divided into eight sections, each one incorporating a particular sculpture or sculptural group commemorating an individual victory.¹⁷⁹ From the cuttings on the surface of the base made for the attachment of the sculptures it can be deduced that the figures were of bronze and that they included equestrian figures.¹⁸⁰ On each of these sections there were short inscriptions attesting which battle was commemorated on each section.¹⁸¹ Pliny's statement (34.84) that Phyromachos, Isigonos (Epigonos), Stratonikos and Antigonos represented the battles of Attalos and Eumenes against the Gauls, has confused modern scholars about the date of the monument, some assigning it to the reign of Attalos I and Eumenes I; some to the reign of Attalos I and Eumenes II; and some to the reign of

¹⁷⁴Fig. 19: Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon, schematic plan with the votive offerings (Round and Long Base, and Epigenes' monument) by Wenning (1978); Ridgway 286 Ill.34.

¹⁷⁵IvP. 20; *OGIS* 269.

¹⁷⁶Fig. 20: Smith fig. 121. Pollitt 85; Ridgway, 285; A. Schober, "Epigonos von Pergamon und die frühpergamenische Kunst", *Jdl* 53 (1938) 126-149; S. Howard, "The Dying Gauls, Aigina Warriors, and Pergamene Academicism" *AJA* 87 (1983) 483-487. Fig. 21: Suicidal or Ludovisi Gaul and his wife, Terme 8608; Smith fig. 118.

¹⁷⁷IvP. 21

¹⁷⁸Ridgway 285; Pollitt 85.

¹⁷⁹IvP 21-28 = *OGIS* 273-279; see also Hansen 36 n 48.

¹⁸⁰Winter 369, no. 468; traces of the hoof of a rearing horse were found on one of the monument's cover plates.

¹⁸¹IvP 22-28.

Eumenes II and Attalos II.¹⁸² The surviving inscriptions from two sections, referring to the Kaikos battle (240 BC) and the battle fought against the Gauls and Antiochos Hierax (230s-229/228 BC), make it a plausible assumption that the monument was intended to commemorate all the victories of Attalos I over the Gauls in the period between 241 and 228 BC.¹⁸³ In addition to these inscriptions there was also a larger one, which named the sculptor - *Epigonou erga*.¹⁸⁴

The problem of these two monuments lies in their reconstruction. As the originals do not survive and we have only scattered Roman marble copies, scholars (see below) have found it difficult to come up with a universally acceptable theory for the reconstruction of either monument. Some information about their composition can be deduced from very brief descriptions in Pliny the Elder (34.88) and Diodorus Siculus (5.28). The former in particular states that Epigonos' mastery and craftsmanship was especially evident in his trumpeter and in the infant "miserably caressing its dead mother". That these statues also formed part of the Long Base is possible, as Polybios states that in the Celtic armies were innumerable trumpeters and horn-blowers and the women and children accompanied the men on their campaigns.¹⁸⁵ Diodorus Siculus (5.28) gives a brief, but distinctive, description of the life-style and features of the Gauls which proved of great importance for the original identification of the figures on the Attalid monuments as Gauls. The Roman marble copies in our possession, which are used in the various theories of reconstruction are: the Dying Trumpeter in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 22); the Suicidal complex of the Gaul and his wife (Ludovisi Gaul) in the Terme Museum (Fig. 21); the Chiaramonti head of a Gaul in the Vatican Museum; a torso in Dresden; and the head of a Persian in the Terme Museum.¹⁸⁶

Three main theories of reconstruction have been suggested. Schober reconstructed the suicidal group, the Dying Trumpeter and two other hypothetical figures on the small Round Base (Fig. 20).¹⁸⁷ Künzl reconstructed all the above mentioned marble copies on the Long Base excluding the Chiaramonti head which he believed was part of another

¹⁸²Eumenes I and Attalos I: H. Brunn, *Geschichte d. gr. Künstler*, (Braunschweig 1868) 1. 442; E. Thrämer, *Die Siege der Pergamener über die Galater u. ihre Verherrlichung durch die perg. Kunstschule* (Fellin, 1877) 27, his theory was refuted by Cardinali, Appendix I. Attalos I and Eumenes II: L. Ulrich in his review of Brunn's book (*Jahrb. Cl. Phil.* 69, 1854, 383-384) proposed to divide the four sculptors in two groups, assigning Isigonos and Phyromachos to the reign of Attalos I and the other two to that of Eumenes II. Eumenes II and Attalos II: A. Schober assigned all the artists to the reigns of these two kings ("Zur Geschichte pergamenischer Künstler" *JdI* 31, 1939, 142-149).

¹⁸³Cf. e.g. B. Schweitzer who argues that because there was a change from bronze sculpture (3rd century BC) to marble in the 2nd century BC, the four sculptors belonged to the reign of Attalos I (*GGA* 1926, 59-60); Hansen 278 n. 19; E.V. Hansen "The great victory monument of Attalos I" *AJA* 41 (1937) 52-55 (she also argues that Pliny's statement was probably mistaken and that the name of Eumenes was added simply because he was the most famous of the Attalid kings); Ridgway 285-86 (also argues the possibility that Pliny's statement might refer to a different group as the name of Eumenes is also mentioned whereas on the Pergamene acropolis only that of Attalos is indicated); Stewart (1990) 205-206.

¹⁸⁴IvP 22b.

¹⁸⁵Pol. 2.29; Pliny 34.88; Schober 136-139.

¹⁸⁶Dying Trumpeter in the Capitoline Museum 747 (Smith fig. 119 (Fig. 22); Stewart pls. 667-670); Ludovisi Gaul in the Terme Museum 8608 (Stewart pls. 671-674); Chiaramonti Head in the Vatican Museum (inv. nr. 1271; Smith fig. 120); Dresden torso; head of a Persian in the Terme Museum 603 (Stewart, pl. 675).

¹⁸⁷Schober 126-149.

monument dedicated by Epigenes (one of Attalos' most important generals) and the army (Fig. 23).¹⁸⁸ The Terme Persian, he suggested, represented one of Antiochos Hierax's oriental soldiers. His argument was criticised by Wenning who held that the long base dealt only with battles against the Gauls.¹⁸⁹ Wenning also excluded the suicidal group from the long base on the grounds of its multi-sided composition which allows for it to be viewed from many angles, thus broadly accepting Schober's restoration of the round base.

The *Lesser Gauls* was the largest and most elaborate monument set up by the Attalids outside Pergamon. From Pausanias (1.25.2) we learn that it was situated on the south slope of the acropolis of Athens and that it represented the Gigantomachy, the Athenian Amazonomachy, the battle of Marathon (490 BC), and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia by Attalos I. Pausanias adds that the figures were two cubits in height (3ft). The most probable date for its dedication is ca. 200 BC when Attalos I visited Athens.¹⁹⁰ Some scholars, however, tend to place it after 150 BC, thus making it a dedication of Attalos II, on the grounds of stylistic and compositional characteristics.¹⁹¹ Attalos II, however, does not seem to have been involved during his reign in wars against the Gauls. From a historical point of view, a monument celebrating Pergamene victories in war over the Gauls and dedicated by an Attalos, would probably be more likely in the reign of Attalos I and that would accord with the other Attalid dedications.

It is believed that the monument must have comprised a total of more than 50 figures made out of bronze or marble.¹⁹² There is no single surviving series of marble copies derived from this group but there are about 30 surviving marble figures scattered in various collections and Museums that are of appropriate size and subject. It is also quite likely that the monument included the victors on horseback as on the *Long Base*.¹⁹³ Brunn was the first to collect the surviving material basing his identifications on their less-than-life size and their stylistic and thematic resemblance to the previous Attalid dedications and

¹⁸⁸Fig. 23: Ridgway 286 ill.35. Künzl 18-30; restored it on the IvP 29.

¹⁸⁹Wenning (1975) 5-11, 17-8.

¹⁹⁰Pol. 1.6.25-6; Trendelenburg in Baumeister *Denkmaler des klassischen Altertums* (Munich and Leipzig 1884-8) 1241-1248; H. Brunn, "I doni di Attalo", *Annali dell' Istituto de corrispondenza archeologica*, 42 (1870) 320-321; R. Förster, "Archaeologische Miscellen" *AZ* 32 (1874) 101; G. Krahmer, *GGN* (1927) 71; Kähler, 146; B. Schweitzer "Späthellenistische Reitergruppen" *Jdl* 51 (1936) 158-166; A. Linfert, *Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit* (1976) 4; C. Boehringer, "Zur Chronologie Mittelhellenistischer Münzserien, 220-160 v. Chr", *AMUGS* 5 (1972) 45, 147; Stewart 19-23; Pollitt, 91, Hansen (1947) 287. Some scholars also tend to place it even earlier ca. 228 BC; K. Köpp, *De gigantomachiae in poesos artis monumentis usu* 54 n.4; Overbeck 2. 235; Ussing, *Pergamos* 29.

¹⁹¹Lippold 352-353; argued that Attalos II's relations with Athens were closer than his father's and it is likely that he set up this monument commemorating his father's victories. A. Schober, "Zur Amazonengruppe des attalischen Weihgeschenkes" *Jdl* 28 (1933) 102-107; R. Horn, "Hellenistische Köpfe I. Zur Datierung des Kleinen Attalischen Weihgeschenkes" *RM* (1937) 140-163.

¹⁹²Those arguing in favour of marble present as evidence the size of the statues and the possibility that the marble is not Roman but Aegean or Asiatic. Overbeck suggested that a group with so many figures was unheard of in bronze (244-245). However, Ridgway (292-290) believes that in all probability the figures are Roman copies arguing that the Asiatic origin of the marble has yet to be proven by scientific isotopic analysis. On a summary of the debate see Ridgway 285-296.

¹⁹³A mounted figure in Marbury Hall shows a Greek or a Pergamene on horseback. The figure has been identified as belonging to the group. P.R. von Biekowski, *Die Darstellung der Gallier in der hellenistischen Kunst* (Vienna 1908) 75-76, no. 15.

to the Altar of Zeus and Athena.¹⁹⁴ Twenty figures have so far been identified as belonging to the series. Of these ten are Gauls, four Greeks or Pergamenes, three Persians, one giant, and one Amazon (Fig. 24).¹⁹⁵

As there are no surviving remnants of the base where the monument allegedly stood, modern scholars can only surmise how the themes and figures were arranged. Our only source for their location is Pausanias' statement. Brunn placed them on a platform along the inner side of the wall and the victors above them on the wall itself.¹⁹⁶ Mayer and Habich set only the Gigantomachy on the wall and the other three groups on the projecting platform.¹⁹⁷ Their argument was refuted by Schober who argued that the most satisfactory effect would be produced if all the groups stood in full light and not in the shadow of the wall.¹⁹⁸ Instead he suggested that the statues stood on a base of a step-like structure, so that the viewer might be able to walk along the groups and see the figures at eye level.

An alternative theory concerning the location and arrangement of the *Lesser Gauls* has been proposed by Hoepfner.¹⁹⁹ He is convinced that the *Lesser Gauls* were standing on the cornice of the sacrificial altar in the inner court of the Great Altar (Fig. 6.2). In his reconstruction he restored the Gauls on the long side (as they formed the largest group), the Persians on one of the short sides, and the Amazons with the Giants on the other. According to this hypothetical reconstruction, the gods, standing on the ledge of the Altar's roof, would have been looking down on the defeated enemy who, in a way would have appeared as being sacrificed on the altar. This reconstruction however, would require the gods on the roof of the altar to have their backs turned to the spectator who would be standing outside the monument. Hoepfner finally argued that the aim would have been to glorify the victories of the Pergamenes over the Gauls by equating them to the historical battles against the Persians and the mythical wars against the Amazons and the Giants. However, Hoepfner's theory has been refuted as mere speculation.²⁰⁰

The most striking features of the Attalid dedications is their "pathos" and drama. On the faces of these wounded enemies the pain and suffering of the struggle is depicted not in a bestial way, as on the faces of classical centaurs, but in a more dignified manner suitable to a feared and respected opponent. Smith suggests that the aim was to present the "heroic attitude of a noble enemy" who chose suicide and death over captivity and humiliation.²⁰¹ It has been argued that the *Lesser Gauls* was probably a diplomatic move cleverly aimed at the rest of the Greek world.²⁰² Its designers blended together mythology

¹⁹⁴Brunn 292-323.

¹⁹⁵Fig. 24: Dying Giant (24.1, Naples 6013), Dying Amazon (24.2, Naples 6012), Dead Gaul (24.3, Venice 56); Smith figs. 123, 124, 132.2 respectively. M. Mayer, "Amazonengruppe" *Jdl* 2 (1887) 77-85; G. Habich *Die Amazonengruppe des attalischen Weihgeschenks* (Berlin, 1896) 13. At Pergamon itself was found a marble statuette (6 inch. high) of an Amazon lying on her left leg and supporting itself with her left hand, a position similar to that of the Gaul in Venice; *AvP* 7, 208-209 n.232.

¹⁹⁶Brunn 314-318; von Salis 31-32.

¹⁹⁷Mayer 77-85; Habich 83-85.

¹⁹⁸*Jdl* 28 (1933) 107-111.

¹⁹⁹Hoepfner (1993) 111-125; idem (1996) 115-134; idem "Model" (1996) 65-67.

²⁰⁰See Chapter 1 p. 7.

²⁰¹Smith 103; Pollitt 92-95; Hansen 284.

²⁰²Föster 101; Howard 484-485; Smith 103; Pollitt 93-95.

and history to incorporate the Attalid victory into the wider context of Greek mythology, history (especially Athenian) and culture. The battle of the Gods against the giants, and the Amazonomachy were time-honoured themes in Greek myth and art. The Persian wars and especially the battle of Marathon had been elevated to almost the same mythological status by the Athenians (cf. e.g. Paintings in the Stoa Poikile; see also Chapter 5 B.1). They all served to symbolise the victory of the Greek spirit and culture over external barbarian and hybristic forces. The equation of Attalos' victories with earlier examples of mythical victories elevated his achievements to be part of the triumph of Greek civilisation over barbarism. Pollitt further argues that the monuments were probably designed to provoke in their viewers the experience of reliving the moment of the action, to trigger in their minds a re-enactment of those battles.²⁰³

Paintings

The art of Pergamon is also represented by other media. In the field of painting the few remaining Pergamene examples indicate that they were very influential in later Pompeian art. The best examples come from the building in the lower agora erected by Eumenes II (197-159 BC).²⁰⁴ The walls in the northernmost of the west rooms were divided into sections decorated in shades of blue, white, red, yellow and brown imitating various types of marble similar to the later so-called first style in Pompeii.

The walls of the rooms of Palace group IV represent the best surviving examples of Pergamene wall painting (Fig. 26).²⁰⁵ The south room on the east side (A) in Palace IV was decorated with a griffin frieze on red background. The slender yellow animals with long tails and blue wings are standing with one paw raised on each side of golden-yellow amphorae. The space behind them is decorated with tall censers having legs of animals and triangular bodies ending in *protomes* with griffins' heads.²⁰⁶ Above each of the gold censers were two cups, one above the other, surmounted by a pine-cone. Above the griffin frieze was a painted egg-and-tongue moulding in brown, topped by a band painted to simulate blocks of coloured stone. The remaining decoration of the wall included: a meander motif painted in tones of red, yellow, brown and blue; bands of red, rose, pink, blue and yellow; topped by a band simulating brown marble blocks. On the walls of room B are the remains of a painted architectural fragment (probably a niche), and on the walls of room D a frieze depicting erotes.²⁰⁷

The Gallic victories were also celebrated in painting. According to Pausanias (1.4.6) there was a painting in Pergamon that celebrated the Pergamene struggle against them. Hansen believes that it may have been on the walls of the stoas in the Athena sanctuary.²⁰⁸

²⁰³For more on this idea see Chapter 5 Part B pp. 171-175.

²⁰⁴A. Conze, "Geschichte der Untersuchung" *AvP* 1.1, (1912-1913) 151-152, Fig. 4, Pl. 6.1-2.

²⁰⁵Fig. 26: from Hoepfner "The Architecture of Pergamon" (1996) 37-40, fig. 13.

²⁰⁶Kawerau and Wiegand 48-50, Pl. 7.

²⁰⁷ibid. Abb. 61.

²⁰⁸Hansen 332.

A number of fine mosaics have also been found in Pergamon. Pliny tells us (36.184) that Sosos, the most famous artist in this field, laid in a dining room a mosaic floor representing scraps of food that had fallen from the table and been left lying on the floor. Even though the original does not survive a number of Roman copies give us an idea of what it probably looked like.²⁰⁹ The famous "drinking dove" is also attributed to Sosos (Pliny 36.184); its best known reproduction was found in Hadrian's villa at Tibur and is now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome.²¹⁰ The finest Pergamene mosaics come from the cella of the temple of Hera Basileia, and the rooms in Palaces IV and V.²¹¹ The cella floor from the Hera temple was decorated with a wave and festoon pattern. The decorations from the rooms of the palaces include floral designs, brilliantly coloured parrots with long-tail-feathers, fruits and leaves.²¹² In two rooms of Palace IV the excavators found fragments of elaborate mosaics. In room A a great quantity of mosaic fragments dated to the 2nd century BC was discovered on the floor around the central hearth. They formed a predominantly floral design, with rectangular panels of animal and plant forms, surrounded by garlands and a meander pattern. The leaves were represented in a wide range of colours: shades of green, light blue and yellow. Remains of a floor mosaic were also discovered in room D, depicting garlands and flowers in rich colours against a black background.

Remains of mosaic decoration have also been found in some of the rooms of Palace V. In the large room (K) on the north side in Palace V, the floor was decorated with a mosaic consisting of several bands: a multicoloured guilloche; a garland frieze with small erotes and grasshoppers among flowers and leaves; a red and white wave pattern; a black and white band; and a meander pattern shown in perspective. In areas the decoration is barely perceptible but in the middle panel towards the lower part, is represented a small piece of parchment with three corners held by red wax (the fourth torn loose and rolled back). On it, in letters of the time of Eumenes II, appears the signature of the artist "Hephaistion made it".²¹³ In Room I the floor was again decorated with an elaborate mosaic divided in various bands. Two panels depicting tragic and comic masks flanked the stone base of a statue along the east wall. The rest of the floor was decorated with a large rectangular panel divided into three bands. The upper and lower bands depicted a garland of flowers, ivy leaves and red berries, interwoven with ribbons and small birds (Fig. 25). The middle band was divided into three panels of which only the north end survives depicting a parrot in colours of red, green, brown, yellow and blue set against a dark background, surrounded by a garland. According to Kutbay the decoration of this room

²⁰⁹Cf. e.g. the mosaic in the Bardo Museum in Tunis (*AA* 18, 1903, 13) or the one in the Museum at Aquileia; Hansen 333 n.347-8.

²¹⁰K.M. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999) 28 fig. 27.

²¹¹W. Dörpfeld, "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1910-11: I. Die Bauwerke" *AM* 37 (1912) 262 (Hera Basileia); Kawerau and Wiegand 57-58, 71, Pls. 8-11, 39 (Palace IV); 5.1, 53-54, 58-59, 61-67, Pls. 12-19; Text Plates 27-38.

²¹²Hoepfner "The Architecture of Pergamon" (1996) fig. 13.

²¹³Kawerau and Wiegand 66-67, Fig. 72, Pl. 19; Dunbabin 30 fig. 29.

and the base of a cult statue placed along the eastern wall, indicate that the room was dedicated to the cult of Dionysos as the Attalids' divine ancestor.²¹⁴

*Building activity*²¹⁵

The Pergamene acropolis on the southern side was formed into four distinct levels or terraces (Map 1). The topmost terrace was occupied by the royal palaces and eventually the Roman temple of Trajan. The second terrace (ca. 30 ft lower) formed the precinct of Athena Polias, the city's patron deity. The third terrace (ca. 80 ft lower) is the site of the Great Altar and finally the fourth terrace (ca. 45 ft lower) was occupied by the Upper agora. The most elaborate building programme took place during the reign of Eumenes II. Summarising the achievements of each Attalid king, Strabo (13.4.2) gives Eumenes II credit for having raised Pergamon to its present magnificence. It was under Eumenes that the four terraces of the Pergamene acropolis were filled with fine buildings.

Palaces

The royal palaces were not only modified several times in antiquity but they were also plundered, so the most important building phase of the dynasty can only be reconstructed hypothetically. Palace groups I and VI, which filled the north-east and south-east corners of the citadel respectively, were used as barracks and depositories for instruments of war.²¹⁶ It is not determined whether palaces II and III were royal residences or Hellenistic houses for officers and court administrators; the third building group is the most destroyed of all.²¹⁷ Palace groups IV and V are better preserved. According to Hoepfner, both palaces were constructed by Eumenes II; Palace IV being the royal residence and V the banqueting Hall (Fig. 26).²¹⁸ In Palace V Hoepfner reconstructs a great number of banqueting rooms (with 100 *klinai*) with high windows, surrounded by a columned hall allowing views of the street outside. He has also argued that Palace V was contemporary to the Altar on the basis of coffer fragments found in the palace's foundations.²¹⁹

Contrary to Hoepfner's theory it is generally agreed that Palace IV was built by Attalos I in the second half of the 3rd century BC, and Palace V by Eumenes II or Attalos

²¹⁴Kutbay 123; Dunbabin 29 fig. 28.

²¹⁵Only the most important constructions will be mentioned in this section. For the temples of Demeter and Asklepios see below Chapters 3 and 4 respectively. Athena's and Zeus' sacred buildings have already been discussed in connection with the cult of the respective gods (see above section on *cults and festivals*). To the reign of Attalos I is assigned the construction of the Megalesion and the Aphrodision which lay outside the city-wall. According to Livy 29.10-11, the introduction of the cult of the Great Mother into Rome was instigated by Attalos I (ca. 204 BC). A *terminus post quem* for the Aphrodision is given by Philip's raid in 201 BC (Pol. 16.1.7).

²¹⁶Kawerau and Wiegand 1-16, 40-45; Hansen 213-214. Hoepfner considers Palace I the palace of Attalos I; W. Hoepfner "L' Architettura di Pergamo" in *L' Altare di Pergamo: il fregio di Telefo* (Milan: Leonardo 1996); idem "The Architecture of Pergamon" (1996) 36-37.

²¹⁷Hoepfner reconstructs the palace of the tyrant Gongylos (5th century BC) in Palace group II; Hoepfner, "L' Architettura" (1996); idem "The Architecture of Pergamon" (1996) 37.

²¹⁸Hoepfner "L' Architettura" (1996); idem "The Architecture of Pergamon" (1996) 37-40, fig.13; idem *Basileia* (1996) 19-26; see also Chapter 1 p. 8 n. 42.

²¹⁹On the full refutation of his arguments, see Chapter 1 p. 8 n. 42.

II.²²⁰ Both palaces were decorated with beautiful wall paintings and mosaic floors.²²¹ A number of other works on the Attalid palaces deserve mention. Hesberg examined aspects of public and private use of the palaces in relation to other Hellenistic palaces.²²² Kunze worked on the sculptural furnishings of the palaces, and Salzmann did considerable work on the mosaic decorations of palaces IV and V.²²³

Athena's Propylon and Stoa

In the precinct of Athena Eumenes built a monumental *propylon* and a stoa which enclosed the precinct, on the north and east side.²²⁴ The propylon like the stoa was of marble and two stories high, and had four columns on the east front. The upper story was crowned by a gable and its frieze was decorated with garlands of oak and olive leaves carried alternately by eagles with spread wings and bucrania adorned with fillet. Over the garlands were alternately owls with spread wings and *paterae* decorated with rays. Thus both Zeus and Athena were honoured in these decorations as well as in the joint dedications within the precinct.²²⁵ The front between the columns on the upper story of the propylon and the colonnade was decorated with sculpted slabs depicting military equipment captured by the Pergamenes from their enemies (Fig. 27).²²⁶ Above the parapet and on the back surface of the architrave are holes with iron pegs. It has been argued that they were used to spread hangings to keep out the sun. They were probably the famous *aulaia* for which the court of Attalos I was famous.²²⁷

Library

The famous Pergamene library was identified in a series of rooms behind the northern stoa on the terrace of Athena (Fig. 28).²²⁸ Conze suggested that the large main room of 200 sq.m. was the reading area where all the scrolls containing the literary heritage

²²⁰Kawerau and Wiegand *AvP* 5.1 (1930); Hansen 228; Kutbay 6-18, 114-117. Kästner (1998, 143) dates Palace V in the reign of Attalos II. The two palaces were first examined by R. Bohn and A. Conze in the 1880s but the official publication was presented by Kawerau and Wiegand in 1930.

²²¹See above, *Paintings and Mosaics* pp 43-44.

²²²For H. von Hesberg's results see Wulf-Rheidt 91-92, 96; Radt (1998) 9 n. 36.

²²³For C. Kunze's results see Wulf 117-120. D. Salzmann "Zu den Mosaiken in den Palästen IV und V von Pergamon" in *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien III*, Asia Minor Studien 16 (Bonn: Habelt 1995) 101-112; idem "Mosaiken und Paviment in Pergamon: Vorbericht der Kampagnen 1989 und 1990" *AA* (1991) 436-437.

²²⁴IvP 149; dedicatory inscription of king Eumenes dedicating it to Athena Nikephoros.

²²⁵See above *cults* of Zeus and Athena.

²²⁶Fig. 27: Photos by A.S. Fanta. Notice for instance the Macedonian shield (*chalcaspis*) in Fig. 27.2; the Gallic oval shields in Fig. 27.2-4; the Macedonian helmet known as *kausia* in Fig. 27.4 (P. Dintsis, *Hellenistische Helme* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1986) vol. 1 183-195; vol. 2 Cat. nrs. 281, 284, 293); the Gallic chain-mail body armour in Fig. 27.1; the face-mask helmet in Fig. 27.3 usually worn by Germanic tribes and Thracians (Dintsis vol. 1 177-181, vol. 2 Map 21). See also H. Droysen, "Die Balustradenreliefs", in *Altertümer von Pergamon* II, 95-138 Pls. 43-50; Winter, *AvP* 7, nos. 129, 302, 348-351, 396, 464, Beibl. 33, 38, 40, Pl. 30; Dintsis, vol. 2 Cat. nrs. 178-179, 280, 293.

²²⁷Sil. Ital. *Punic* 14.659-660; Val. Max. 9.1.5; Propert. 2.32.12; Serv. *ad Verg. Georg.* 3.25; Hansen 251.

²²⁸Fig. 28: Hoepfner's reconstruction of the library "The Architecture of Pergamon" (1996) 42 fig. 18.

of ancient Greece were located on wooden boards or shelves along the walls.²²⁹ If each shelf was about 80 inches high and could hold 30 scrolls the total capacity of the large room of the library has been estimated as 17,640 rolls. This was probably a small fraction of the total number; for according to Plutarch (*Ant.* 58), when Antony presented the treasure of the Pergamene library to Kleopatra it contained 200,000 volumes.

Gymnasium

Beneath the Pergamene acropolis lay the Gymnasium (Map 1). Perhaps the first gymnasium on the site belonged to the time of the earlier members of the dynasty, but the complete structure, with its three terraces seems to have been erected when this area, together with the rest of the south slope, was included in the enlarged city of Eumenes II. On the lowest terrace a *stele* was found in one of the niches on the north wall inscribed with a list of boys who had become ephebes in the year 147/6 BC. Consequently it has been argued that the lower terrace was the gymnasium of the boys.²³⁰

Access to the middle terrace was gained by a vaulted staircase. On the walls of the temple, on the eastern side of the terrace, were the lists of names of the ephebes to whom this terrace was dedicated. The upper and larger terrace included a *palaestra* and was surrounded on all sides, except the south, by a two-story Doric colonnade. On the west side of the terrace was a temple (Temple R) on whose walls were lists of ephebes; one inscription cites the god Asklepios himself as gymnasiarch. The temple was probably dedicated to the god who watched over the life and health of the growing youth of the kingdom of Pergamon. It is debated however, whether the god of the gymnasium was Asklepios or Apollo.²³¹

Outside Pergamon

Not only the city of Pergamon but also other cities in the Greek world benefited from the building generosity of the Attalid kings. In the reign of Attalos I, apart from Delphi and Delos, Chios and Aitolia also received the king's donations of large sums for the refurbishment of sanctuaries or construction of secular buildings.²³² Outside the city of Pergamon Eumenes II sent workmen and large sums of money to repair the theatre and other votive offerings at Delphi, a stoa at Athens, a new temple of Poseidon at Kalauria on the island of Poros, and the expansion of the sanctuary of Asklepios on Kos.²³³ Attalos II is

²²⁹A. Conze, *SBBerl. Phil.-hist. Klasse* (1884) 1259-1270; Bohn, "Heiligtum der Athena" *AvP* 2. 56ff; B. Götze *Jdl* 52 (1937) 225-247; C. Wendel, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 55 (1938) 641-650; Hoepfner "The Architecture of Pergamon" (1996) 40-46.

²³⁰B. Schröder, "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1902-1903" *AM* 29 (1904) 170-173.

²³¹The inscription referring to Asklepios prompted scholars to argue that he was the deity in question. However, other inscriptions (also found in the upper terrace) dedicated to Pythian Apollo have induced scholars to argue for Apollo; L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 70, n.8; *AM* 33 (1908) 383-384, 407, no.4, 37; *IvP* 309.

²³²On Philetairos' dedications see above p. 17 n. 8. On donations and dedications at Delphi see Table 1 (ca. 219 BC, Aitolian alliance). Delos: *IG* XI.4, 1105, 1109-1110. Chios: F. Studniczka "Aus Chios" *AM* 13 (1888) 182-183. Aetolia: *Pol.* 4.65.6-7.

²³³*SIG* II 671B ll. 12-13 (votive offerings at Delphi); Vitruvius *D.A.* 5.9.1 (stoa at Athens); *OGIS* 297 (Kalauria); R. Herzog, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die archäologische Expedition auf der Insel Kos im Jahre

mostly known for commissioning the, now fully restored, stoa on the east side of the Athenian agora.²³⁴ Its purpose was to serve as a market hall; behind the double-aisled Doric colonnade a series of rooms (21 in total) served as shops.

Attalid patronage of learning

In the area of higher learning the Attalids showed great interest by supporting scholars elsewhere as well as by attracting them to the Pergamene court. From Diogenes Laertios (*Lives* 4.38, 5.67) we learn that Eumenes I (263-241 BC) invited Arkesilaos (founder of the Middle Academy) to the court and supported him financially. During the reign of Attalos I (241-197 BC) more scholars and philosophers benefited from this policy of patronage. The construction of a famous garden, the Lakydeion (after Lakydes of Kyrene) was subsidised by Attalos sometime after ca. 229 BC, so that the eponymous philosopher might lecture in it.²³⁵ Amongst the scholars who enjoyed Attalos I's generosity were: the sculptor and art-critic Antigonos of Karystos who wrote many treatises on sculpture, toreutics, painting, but also a compilation of philosophers' biographies; Neanthes of Kyzikos who composed a, now lost, history of Attalos I; Demetrios of Skepsis who wrote his encyclopaedic commentary (30 books) on Homer's catalogue of Trojan forces; Biton who wrote a treatise on the construction of war machines and catapults (dedicated to the king); Apollonios from Perge in Pamphylia, who also dedicated to the king his work on conic sections; and finally Sudines the Chaldean soothsayer, astronomer and authority on precious stones who foretold Attalos' great victory over the Gauls (240 BC).²³⁶

However, it was during the reign of Eumenes II (197-159 BC) that Pergamon became more widely famous in the contemporary intellectual world. According to Strabo Eumenes was the founder of the famous Pergamene library.²³⁷ A systematic operation then followed, involving the collecting, cataloguing, and at times, forging of literary heritage, to furnish the Pergamene library.²³⁸ To head his library, Eumenes invited Lakydes (Head of the Academy) and Lykon (Peripatetic School) to the court, but they both turned down the invitation.²³⁹ His invitation, however, was accepted by the Stoic philosopher Krates from Mallos in Kilikia.²⁴⁰

1902", *AM* (1903) 10 (Kos sanctuary). Eumenes' stoa at Athens was situated on the lower south slope of the acropolis below the Asklepieion, between the theatre of Dionysos and the Odeion of Herodes Attikos; Hansen 273 n.148.

²³⁴Athenaios, 5.212F; *IG* II 1170.

²³⁵*IG* II 384.

²³⁶Antigonos of Karystos: Pliny 34.84, Diog. Laert. 2.15, 9.49 (sculpture); indices to Pliny 33, 34 (toreutics); Pliny 35.68, Diog. Laert. 7.188 (painting); Suet. *De Viris Illustr.* (ed. Roth) 287, 33-34 (biographies). Neanthes of Kyzikos: Athen. 15. 699d. Demetrios of Skepsis: *Der Neue Pauly* (1997) s.v. Demetrios 438.34. Biton: Athen. 14.634a. Apollonios from Perge: *Der Neue Pauly* (1996) s.v. Apollonios 1. 885-887. Sudines: Polyaeus 4.20; Strabo 16.1.6 (C 739); Vettius Valens 9.11 (p. 354, 4, ed. Kroll); Pliny 9.115 (pearls), 36.59 (onyx), 37.25 (crystal) etc.

²³⁷Strabo 13.4.2.

²³⁸Strabo 13.1.54 (C 608-609); Galen in *Hipp. de nat. hum.* 5.16 (Kühn 15.105).

²³⁹DL 4.60; 5.67 (Lakydes); Diog. Laer. 5.67 (Lykon).

²⁴⁰Suet. *On gram. and rhet.* 2 (p. 4.4 Brugnoli 1963).

Krates spent most of his life in Pergamon organising and administering the library. He described himself as a *kritikos* (critic), master of the entire science of *logike*, as opposed to a *grammatikos* who confined himself to explaining questions of vocabulary and verse.²⁴¹ He likened the critic to the architect, the grammarian to the workman.²⁴² This distinction was the basis for the rivalry between the Pergamene and the Alexandrian library at the Mouseion.²⁴³ Krates claimed that the *kritikoi* of Pergamon stood for a more holistic approach to scholarship than the *grammatikoi* of the library in Alexandria. According to Nagy, Krates' claim was closely connected to the Pergamene approach of the study and reception of Homer.²⁴⁴ Krates was a Stoic philosopher and applied his philosophical doctrines to the explanation of poetic and prose literature. Through one of Krates' students (Tauriskos) we have his definition of the three functions of criticism (*kritike*): the logical (*logikon*, grammar in its narrower sense); the practical (*tribikon*, including phonetics and style); and the historical or judgement of the material offered in the literary tradition (*historikon*, poets and historians).²⁴⁵ He was an opponent of his contemporary Aristarchos (head of the Alexandrian library) both in literary criticism and in grammatical studies.

In the field of literary criticism, Krates was interested in applying allegorical *exegesis* to poetry - a notion widely advocated by the Stoics.²⁴⁶ Krates composed a commentary (*Diorthotika*) in 9 books on Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which dealt with questions of textual criticism.²⁴⁷ He also wrote the *Homerika*, comprising at least two books, which treated cosmological and geographical problems in Homer's poems with allegorical explanations.²⁴⁸

Underlining Krates' exegesis of the Homeric poems was the view that the universe was a sphere.²⁴⁹ Within this sphere was earth, also in the form of a sphere, which was

²⁴¹Sext. Emp. *Math* 1.79; 1.248; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 53.1. See also G. Nagy, "The library of Pergamon as a Classical Model" *Pergamon: Citadel of the God* 187 n.8; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1968) 242 n.8.

²⁴²Sext. Emp. *adv. gram.* 1.79.

²⁴³On the location of the Alexandreian library at the Mouseion (the sacred precinct to the Muses) see Strabo 17.1.8. Even though, Strabo does not equate the Mouseion with the area of the library the equation is inferred by most modern scholars: P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1972) vol. 1 325; L. Canfora, *The Vanished Library: A Wonder of the Ancient World* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990) 141; Nagy 185-186. On the distinction between the library of Pergamon and that of Alexandria see: Pfeiffer 157 n.4, 159 n.6, 238; Nagy 185-232 and bib.

²⁴⁴Nagy 187.

²⁴⁵Sext. Emp. 248-249 (ch. 12).

²⁴⁶*SVF* II p.316, Chrys. fr. 1077 (Cic. *de nat.* 141)

²⁴⁷*Suda* s.v. *Krates*; Schol. μ 89.

²⁴⁸Schol. A *Il.* O 193 (H. Erbse *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, (Berlin 1975) IV 52); Schol. Gen *Il.* Φ (ed. Erbse V (1977) 168-169). Most of the fragments on the Homeric poems are presented in the scholia, and the citations of Krates in the scholia to the works of Hesiod, Euripides, Aristophanes and Aratos' *Phainomena* are now assigned to the *Homerika*; H.J. Mette *De Cratetis Mallotae Pergameni Memoria Varroniana* (diss. Kiel 1931) 111ff (F 1-52) contains the cosmological fragments, and in 103ff he gives the *Testimonia*; idem *Sphaeropoia, Untersuchungen zur Sprachtheorie des Krates* (Halle 1952) 67ff. contains the linguistic ones (F 52a-185); W. Kroll XI (1922) 1635-1636 s.v. *Krates* (16) for the scholia on the works of Aristophanes, Hesiod etc.; see also Hansen (371-379) for a summary of the whole material.

²⁴⁹Mette *Sphairopoia* Introduction V-XX; a view first expressed in the writings of Plato (Schol. Hes. *Theogony* 126).

further divided into 4 tracts by water.²⁵⁰ Krates saw in the circular shield of Agamemnon, "a copy of the cosmos ... , the ten circles of the shield included the five parallels of latitude, the two colures, the galaxy, the zodiac, and the horizon, the bosses represented the stars".²⁵¹ Likewise, the shield of Achilles was explained as if the five layers of the hide signified the 5 parallels or the 5 circles of heaven, the silver baldric was the axis and the mixture of the four metals represented the four elements (fire, water, earth, air); and finally around the outer most rim of the shield was River Ocean , as the Ocean washes around the land.²⁵²

In the field of grammar Krates attacked Aristarchos' theory of *analogy* in favour of the opposing theory of *anomaly*. The theory of *analogy* argued that there is conformity or analogy in the formation of language, where words are distributed into certain classes and are inflected in the same way. On the contrary the theory of *anomaly* argued that similar things are often denoted by dissimilar words and vice versa (no conformity in the formation of language). Krates was following the teachings of his predecessor Chrysippos, who wrote three or four books on *anomaly*, and Aristarchos those of Aristophanes of Byzantium who wrote in defence of *analogy*.²⁵³ Other evidence of Krates' interest in language was his work *On Attic Diction*.²⁵⁴ His views on style are transferred to us through a section of Philodemos' treatise on poetry, where Krates argues that "only the wise man is capable of judging the beauty of poetry and of not allowing himself to be deceived by the obscurity of the language".²⁵⁵

Krates is said to have used parchment (sheepskin used as writing material) to such an extent that it became known as Περγαμηνή or *Charta Pergamena* (paper of Pergamon).²⁵⁶ According to Varro, the extensive Pergamene use of parchment was one result of the rivalry between the two libraries (Alexandrian and Pergamene), and took place when Ptolemy V (205-180 BC) stopped the export of papyrus to Pergamon, thus making the cataloguing of literary works problematic.²⁵⁷ Krates' teachings were influential on the work of his pupils whose chief interest continued to be the interpretation of Homer.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁰Strabo 10.2.12 (C 455); 1.2.20 (C 28), 28 (C 34); Porphyrios *ad Od* B1; on the four elements see DL 7.136-7, LS 46B, 47B; Stobaios *Ecl.* 1.10.16, p. 129ff. When Odysseus said to his friends on the island of Kirke (10.189-193) "we know not where is the place of darkness, nor of dawn, nor where the sun, that gives light to men, goes beneath the earth, nor where it rises", Krates saw the four *climata* or quarters of the sky interpreting the dawn as the south quarter and the place of darkness as the north. Krates' geographical arrangements of the Earth are discussed in Strabo who also testifies that Krates constructed a globe for the purpose of illustrating his theories on geography; Strabo 2.5.10 (C 116).

²⁵¹*Il.* A 32-40; Mette, *Sphairopoiia* 30 ff.

²⁵²*Il.* Σ 483-608; *Sphairopoiia* 36 ff; Plut. *Mor* 938 D. On the four elements see Diog. Laer. 7.136-137.

²⁵³Varro *LL* 8.23, 9.1, 10.68; DL 7.183, 192; Aulus Gellius 2.25. For background information on the ancient analogy/anomaly debate see Hansen 372-373; Schenkeveld, *Scholarship and Grammar* 286-87 n.13; Nagy 214.

²⁵⁴Athen. 9.366d

²⁵⁵See Chapter 1 p.14 n.84.

²⁵⁶Varro *apud* Pliny 13.70; Lydos *De Mensibus* ed. R. Wuensch (1888) 128. The device of parchment was not invented by the Pergamenes, but it was in their time that a great industry of manufacturing animal skins for the purpose of writing took place. Herodotos (5.58) previously recorded that it was used by the Ionians, probably adopted from the Near East; Pfeiffer 236.

²⁵⁷Varro *apud* Pliny 13.70.

²⁵⁸This was the subject of a lost work by Ptolemy of Ascalon *On the Crateteian School*; Schol. *Il.* Γ 155. Amongst Krates' pupils were Zenodotoa from Mallos (Suet. *de Gram* 11); Herodikos the Babylonian (Athen. 5.215f, 219c; VI 234d; for the arguments against a later date for Herodikos see A. Gudeman, *RE* VIII, 1913,

Another prominent scholar in Eumenes' court was Polemon the Periegete (born 230 BC). He enjoyed Pergamene hospitality for a period while he was writing his 30-volume geographical work of Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, Sicily and Karthage.²⁵⁹ He also strongly opposed the views of Antigonos in a 6 volume work.²⁶⁰ Two epic poets lived in the reign of Eumenes II. One of them was Leschides who joined the king's retinue (along with the historian Pytheas and the physician Menander) during the 168-166 BC war against the Gauls, which he later celebrated in verse.²⁶¹ The other poet was Mousaios of Ephesos who composed an epic, *Perseis* in 10 books, and one or two panegyrics in honour of the king and his brother Attalos (II).²⁶²

4. The years after Eumenes II

Eumenes II was succeeded by his brother Attalos II in 159 BC.²⁶³ In the first 20 years of his reign (159-139 BC) Attalos II managed to reinstate Pergamon's relations with Rome which he assisted in the final subjugation of Macedon in 149 BC and in the sack of Korinth in 146 BC.²⁶⁴ He reinstated the Pergamene alliance with Kappadokia by restoring Ariarathes V to the throne.²⁶⁵ Prusias II of Bithynia was Attalos' main enemy. In 156 BC he advanced with his entire army on Pergamon and destroyed the Nikephorion just as Philip V of Macedon had done before in 201 BC.²⁶⁶

The last king of Pergamon was Attalos III (139-133 BC), son of Eumenes II. He is mostly known for his lifetime deification and for his decision to bequeath the kingdom to Rome.²⁶⁷ The transition to Roman rule was hindered for a while by the resistance of Eumenes' illegitimate son Aristonikos (133-129 BC).²⁶⁸

973-978); Artemon of Pergamon, although not a pupil, he was a contemporary - mid 2nd century BC - of Krates and a profound supporter of the latter's method of allegorical interpretation (*Der Neue Pauly* (1997) s.v. Artemon 2. 61.6); Tauriskos (see above p. 49 n 245) and Hermias (Schol. A II. II, 207); and Panaitios of Rhodes who studied at Pergamon after Krates' return from Rome where the latter was forced to stay for a while due to a broken leg (during his trip to the city accompanying Attalos to plea for help against the Gauls in 168 BC; Strabo 14.5.16, 676) Pol. 30.1-3; Livy 45.19; Suet. *de Gram* 2.

²⁵⁹His fragments are published in Müller *FHG* III 108-148

²⁶⁰Athen. 9.410c. On Antigonos see above p. 48, n. 236.

²⁶¹*Suda* s.v. *Leschides*, *FGrH* II B no.172; *SH* 503.

²⁶²*Suda* s.v. *Mousaios Ephesios*; *SH* 560-561 the subject of the epic is not recorded.

²⁶³Strabo 13.4.2 (624); Pol. 30.2.4; *SIG* III 671B; *IG* II.2 953. In a summary of this evidence Magie argued that Attalos was for a brief period a co-regent with Eumenes II; Magie II 771-774 n.75 ff.; cf. also Allen (1983) 10 n 7.

²⁶⁴Strabo 13.4.2 (624); Pliny 35.24.

²⁶⁵Pol. 32.12; *SIG* 3, 666 (on the friendship of Attalos II with Ariarathes at Athens, where they make a joint dedication to their teacher Karneades).

²⁶⁶Pol. 32.15; Appian *Mithri.* 3 (Prusias' attack); Pol. 16.1.6-7 (Philip's attack).

²⁶⁷For his lifetime deification see ruler-cult p. 36; Justin 36.4; Livy *Sum.* 8; Florus 2.20 (for the bequest of Pergamon).

²⁶⁸Justin 36.36; Plut. *Flam.* 21.6; Eutropius 4.20; see also coinage section pp. 24-25 (kistophoroi BA EY) and App. 2 for coins issued by him.

CHAPTER III

THE GIGANTOMACHY FRIEZE

1. The frieze

The altar's massive platform was decorated on the exterior with a frieze 120m long and 2.30m high. The frieze was carved in narrow panels of varying width between 0.70 and 1.05m; the smallest panel measuring 0.605m (panel 71, Cat. no.23) and the longest 1.10m (panel 89, Cat. no.27). The blocks were originally about 0.50m deep and were assembled together with the aid of lewis clamps and then carved *in situ*. A dowel was used to secure them on the bed of the frieze. They were carved about 0.30m deep leaving the rest as a solid background. From the panels' dimensions and the estimated length of the frieze it has been suggested that the frieze comprised approximately 120 panels.¹

One hundred and four panels are completely or partially preserved. The reverse of the panels was coarsely chiselled. Each panel's lower surface was smoothed by means of a toothed chisel and bears two square dowel holes. The top surface of the blocks bears evidence of a lewis hole and beddings on the sides for clamps to connect the adjoining panels.²

More than one hundred over-life-sized figures have been preserved, including those of animals. The use of inscriptions ensured the identification of some of the figures: the names of the gods were inscribed on the cornice; those of the giants on the socle of the frieze, except on the stair-walls where the socle was lacking (Table 2).³

With the help of masons' marks Puchstein was able to reconstruct the arrangement of the cornice slabs above the Gigantomachy frieze.⁴ Finally combining these marks with dowel holes, grooves and other physical evidence, Puchstein was able in many cases to determine which inscription belonged to which god. Unfortunately not enough of the numbered socle-blocks have survived for one to reconstruct their order and sequence; only three inscriptions have been found *in situ*. Thus, it is difficult to allocate the surviving inscriptions with the names of giants to particular figures on the frieze.⁵

There exists a large number of fragments which, with all certainty, belong to the frieze.⁶ Their fragmentary state however, renders their reconstruction problematic.

¹Winnefeld 112, 116; Kästner (1998) 149.

²The technique of the doweling is described by Winnefeld 112-122, n.1 and by von Massow (1926) 387-8.

³IvP nos.86-111 for the gods and nos.112-128 for the giants.

⁴See Chapter 1, p.4 n.11.

⁵Winnefeld, 125-154, esp. 127; Hansen 245 n.56; Kästner (1996) 69-70; O. Puchstein, *Beschreibung der Skulpturen aus Pergamon I* (Berlin: Königliche Museen zu Berlin, 1895).

⁶Winnefeld 94-111.

2. Reconstruction theories

The identification of individual figures, and consequently the reconstruction of the frieze, depends to a great extent on the surviving inscriptional evidence. A total of 55 fully or partly reconstructed inscriptions testifying to the name of god or giant have survived: 29 names of gods and 26 of giants (Table 2).⁷ Of these there are 18 names of gods and 3 of giants that can be restored, with the help of mason's marks, to their original position on the frieze.⁸ In the most recent investigations, fragments of the names of two more giants have been recovered and can be placed with certainty on the frieze: one is Maimaches, the opponent of Themis on the south frieze (Cat. no. 12 panel 33); the other Porphyryon, Zeus' opponent on the east (Cat. no. 20 panel 61).⁹ Beyond this hard evidence one must turn to the iconographic and literary tradition of the Gigantomachy in order to identify the remaining figures of the frieze.¹⁰

The first reconstruction-theory was developed by Puchstein between 1888 and 1895.¹¹ Puchstein had no difficulty in determining that the east frieze was dedicated to the Olympian gods who in their fight were aided by appropriately related figures such as Nike and Herakles. His conclusion was supported not only by the restored inscriptional evidence but also by details in the divine iconography.¹² Thus, despite the absence of inscriptional evidence Zeus was identified by his thunderbolt, Artemis by her hunting boots, quiver and dogs, Apollo by his quiver and bow. Even though the figure of the winged Nike is not identified by a surviving inscription her frequent appearance by the side of Athena in earlier iconographic material makes her identification secure.¹³ Similarly unproblematic for Puchstein was the reconstruction of the n/w wing as being dedicated to water divinities - Triton, Amphitrite, Nereus and Okeanos, all identified by inscriptions. Puchstein's interpretation of the more fragmentary s/w wing as being devoted to Dionysos and his entourage (nymphs and satyrs) was aided by the surviving inscriptions.¹⁴ On the south frieze only the figure of Asteria, sister of Leto and mother of Hekate, can be

⁷IvP nos. 86-128.

⁸Gods: IvP nos. 82a-b, 86-87, 87a, 88-92, 96a, 97, 99, 101-102, 104, 106-107. Giants: IvP nos. 121-122, 113. See also Catalogue nos. 12 n.12, 20 n. 18.

⁹Maimaches: Kästner, (1998) 149 n.20, the fragment is unpublished. Porphyryon: V. Kästner, "Gigantennamen" *Ist.Mitt.* 44 (1994) 125-134; Kästner (1998) pl. 25

¹⁰A number of individual contributions have been made to isolated figures on the frieze. Some of the most important that will not be mentioned here are: H. Luschey, "Funde zu dem grossen Fries von Pergamon", *BWPr* (1962) 116-7 (on the head of Aphrodite and the torso of Hephaistos in the Bergama Museum); D.E.L. Haynes, "The Worksop relief", *JbBerl.Mus.* 5 (1963) 1-13 (on the taumorphic group on the south frieze); "The Technique of the Chatsworth Head", *RA* (1968) 101-112; E. Rohde, "Funde zur Sogenannten Beisergruppe von Pergamon-Nordfries", *AA* (1964) 91-100, (on fragments attributed to the biting group of the north frieze); W. Radt, "Der 'Alexanderkopf' in Istanbul. Ein Kopf aus dem Grossen Fries des Pergamon-Altäres", *AA* (1981) 583-596 (on the "Alexander" head from the Pergamene acropolis as being part of the east frieze); F. Brommer, *JbBerl.Mus* 12 (1970) 191-210, (three giants' heads attributed to the frieze).

¹¹Puchstein (1888) 1231-1249, (1889) 323-345; idem (1895).

¹²IvP nos. 101, 97, 86, 88; identifying the figures of Leto, Herakles, Athena and Ares respectively.

¹³See below p. 90.

¹⁴IvP nos. 102 and 82a.

identified by an inscription.¹⁵ Puchstein however felt able to identify with reasonable certainty the figures of Helios, Eos and Selene from their iconographic tradition. His conclusion was that the south frieze was dedicated to deities of the sky and light.

The greatest problem for Puchstein's reconstruction-theory - and indeed for all subsequent scholars - was posed by the north frieze. With only the figure of Aphrodite and of her Homeric mother Dione identified by surviving inscriptions and with no parallel iconographic tradition for the rest of the figures, individual identification was little more than guesswork.¹⁶ Puchstein concluded that the key to the north frieze's reconstruction was the central female deity (Cat. no.26, panel 85). In her extended right hand she is holding a vessel around which a serpent is coiled. Puchstein identified her as Nyx, (Night) and proposed that what she held in her hand was the symbolic representation of the constellation of Hydra and Crater described in Aratos' *Phainomena* (ll. 444-449). Roscher, on the other hand, suggested that the vessel with the snake was not an attribute of Nyx, but a weapon similar to that used in contemporary naval battles.¹⁷ The identification of the central figure as Night holding in her hand one of the constellations gave Puchstein added reason to identify the rest of the figures behind her as the Dioskouroi followed by stars and constellations: the hunter Orion wearing a lion-skin; Parthenos and Bootes.¹⁸ In front of Nyx Puchstein reconstructed a group of "dark" deities such as the Erinyes and the Gorgons.

Puchstein's theory was entertained and in some cases modified by Robert.¹⁹ Most of the changes proposed by Robert were on the south frieze (see Table 3), though his more interesting contributions were on the north frieze. Following Puchstein's constellation-theory, he suggested that the god in the biting-group was not Kastor, the mortal Dioskouros, but rather the constellation Engonasin. This constellation had been described by Aratos (ll. 63-69) as "the man on his knees" who is depicted in the sky with arms outstretched on either side. Thus, Robert argued that the figure depicted was not a god in danger but rather a constellation figuratively depicted. He also replaced the Moirai for Puchstein's Gorgons. With their introduction he not only reconstructed Nyx accompanied by her children but also allocated a place for a surviving inscription testifying to the presence of at least one of the Moirai.²⁰

¹⁵IvP no.89.

¹⁶IvP nos.90, 92 respectively.

¹⁷W.H. Roscher, "Die Schlangentopfwerferin im Gigantenfries von Pergamon", *Augsburger Allg. Ztg.* (1880) 4571; "Die sog. Schlangentopfwerferin des Altarfrieses von Pergamon", *Jb. Class.Philol* (1886) 225-246, (1885) 612-617. In 185 BC Prusias joined by Hannibal at a naval battle against Eumenes II, hurled at the Pergamene ships jars filled with poisonous snakes. Hansen (94 n.73) claimed that even though it seems unlikely that the Pergamenes would even remotely suggest a defeat of theirs on the frieze, its use probably proved necessary for the sake of variety.

¹⁸Aratos *Phainomena* ll. 322-325, 90-97. The identification of the two male deities in Cat. no. 24 (panels 75, 77) as the twin brothers Dioskouroi would explain why the figure in panel 77 is depicted as having been overcome by a giant. Of the two brothers Kastor was the mortal one thus the more likely to be subdued by a giant.

¹⁹C. Robert, "Archäologische Nachlese" *Hermes* 46 (1911) 217-249.

²⁰IvP no.100.

Puchstein's and Robert's identification of Nyx was adopted by Kähler who, in place of constellations on the eastern end of the north frieze, reconstructed deities of war.²¹ The winged figure behind Nyx he identified as Enyo, companion of Ares, fighting back to back with her brother Polemos. Identification of the winged figure as Enyo, however, excluded from the frieze the Graiai, who had previously been restored there on the basis of an inscription.²² For the biting-group Kähler proposed Deimos accompanied by his brother Phobos, both children of Ares and Aphrodite. Kähler stressed that the Homeric Deimos personified not the terror one inflicts on an enemy but the debilitating panic one feels oneself; thus it becomes understandable that the figure of Deimos is represented as overcome by a giant. Homer's (*Il.* 13.298ff) representation of Deimos is, however, that of a terror-inflicting god who drives his enemy to flight.

The Nyx-theory advocated by Puchstein and Robert was disputed by Winnefeld who published the frieze in the official excavation reports.²³ Winnefeld instead identified the central goddess as Demeter on the basis of an inscription testifying to the presence of Demeter's literary opponent Erysichthon.²⁴ On the basis of this inscription and judging from the importance of Demeter's cult in Pergamon, Winnefeld concluded that the hydria was probably associated with the goddess's mystery rites. Winnefeld's theory was revived more recently by Schefold, claiming that Demeter and Kore should be reconstructed on the north frieze fighting side by side as in earlier depictions of the Gigantomachy.²⁵

An alternative reconstruction for the north frieze was advocated by von Lücken, endorsed and amplified by Picard.²⁶ They believed that the north frieze was dedicated to river gods and nymphs with the main figure on the frieze being the Okeanid nymph Styx. Their major argument was that Nyx's previous iconography gave her wings and had her riding a chariot.²⁷ They also disputed Winnefeld's identification of Demeter suggesting that the hydria was not the most important vessel in the goddess' mysteries, that the connection would have been more apparent if she was hurling a *kiste* or *kalathos*. They also noted that water and snakes had usually been associated with deities of water and

²¹Kähler 51-53.

²²IvP no.93. See also Table 3.

²³Winnefeld 145-6.

²⁴IvP no. 114; Kallimachos, *Hymn to Demeter* ll. 32-117; even though Erysichthon in the hymn was not a giant but one of Demeter's most hateful opponents; Winnefeld suggested that he was allegorically depicted on the frieze as a giant.

²⁵K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (München: Hirmer Verlag, 1981) 111-112. There are only two examples where Demeter and Kore could probably be identified: Siphnian Treasury, north frieze, Museum of Delphi, ca. 525 BC, (two goddesses, figs. 1 and 2, depicted in front of Hephaistos holding spears, see Fig. 30); J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: the Archaic period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996) fig. 212.1. The identification is problematic as there are no surviving inscriptions LIMC IV (1998; F. Vian) s.v. Gigantes no. 2; F. Vian, *La guerre des Géants: Le mythe avant l' époque Hellénistique* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1952) 92. The second example comes from a Red-figure neck amphora, from Melos, Paris Louvre (S 1677), by the Suessula Painter, dated ca. 400-390 BC (Fig. 31); LIMC IV s.v. Gigantes no. 322; Vian (1952) 92, 142-143.

²⁶G. von Lücken, "Die Götter auf der Nordseite des Pergamonaltars" *JdI* 54 (1939) 97-104; C. Picard, "Les énigmes de la friese nord extérieure au socle du grand autel de Pergame" *CRAI* (Paris, 1940) 158-176.

²⁷LIMC II (1984; S. Karusu) s.v. Astra/Nyx

nymphs.²⁸ Their identification of Styx relied on Hesiod (*Theogony* ll. 384-403) where Styx and her children were first to join Zeus against the Titans. The importance of Styx's and her children's participation in the battle is also attested in the honours they received from Zeus: Styx became the guardian of the water by which the gods swore their sacred oath while her children were allowed to live with Zeus. Picard added that, according to Hesiod (ll. 784-87), the water of Styx was brought to Olympus by Iris in a golden jug. Von Lücken's and Picard's theory was primarily based on the influence they believed Hesiod's text had on Pergamene intellectuals and so on the designer of the frieze. The answer therefore to the north frieze's interpretation, they suggested, should be sought in Hesiod's *Theogony*. On the basis of Styx's Hesiodic role in the Titanomachy, they went on to identify the children of Styx. According to Hesiod Styx had four children: Nike, Zelos, Kratos and Bia.²⁹ The two figures behind Styx were Nike (winged) and Zelos (wearing an exomis); the other lost pair, Kratos and Bia, had probably been depicted in front of her. The female figures following Styx, they proposed, were water nymphs, the female deity accompanied by a lion the nymph Kyrene, who had been depicted in previous art with a lion like the goddess Kybele (e.g. on the Kyrenian Treasury at Olympia).

They also argued against Winnefeld's reconstruction of the Dioskouroi following the figure of Dione. Winnefeld had identified the two male deities as Dioskouroi by comparing a red-figure amphora from Melos depicting the Gigantomachy.³⁰ Von Lücken's and Picard's argument relied heavily on the surviving inscription restored above the figure of the victorious Dioskourous.³¹ The ending of the name in ... (Ω)ΟΣ does not correspond to either of the Dioskouroi (ΚΑΣΤΟΡ or ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΗΣ). Instead they suggested the river god Acheloos who was very popular in Greek folklore and who, according to Hesiodic tradition, together with Dione and Apollo brought youths to manhood.³²

The Styx identification was adopted with minor modifications by Vian.³³ He claimed that far too many water deities, some quite minor, had been restored on the north frieze; that Styx and her children should be viewed as forces of power and war rather than water deities. Furthermore, he restored the Moirai to the position from which von Lücken and Picard had banished them, claiming that their presence was assured by a surviving inscription. Vian saw the unifying theme of the North frieze as the forces of cosmic order: Aphrodite and her group represented the law of the ordained generation as attested by Hesiod; Styx with her children, the Erinyes and the Moirai, represented the foundational law of the world.

²⁸ von Lücken 101 esp. n.5; von Lücken presents a number of examples where nymphs are depicted accompanied by snakes. Picard (1940) 169 esp. n.2; Picard states that still today in Arkadia the ancient source of the river Styx is called Drakoneria (the water of the serpent). The serpent-guardian of the source of the river Styx is also known from Apuleius' *Metamorphosis* VI.13.

²⁹ Hesiod *Theogony* ll. 384-386.

³⁰ Winnefeld 143; *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes no.322; Paris Louvre S 1677 by the Suessula Painter, dating between 400-390 BC.

³¹ IvP no.106.

³² Hes. ll. 346-353. Acheloos is not depicted in his usual tauromorphic form, but von Lücken (99 n.3) noted that this was the custom in Asia.

³³ F. Vian, *Repertoire des Gigantomachies figurées dans l'art Grec et Romain* (Paris 1951) 19-23 no.38.

The Styx identification however seems to have had little, if any, appeal to the scholarly world, which has generally preferred the Nyx identification. In 1975 Simon's work presented a serious challenge to Puchstein-Robert's constellation-theory.³⁴ Simon's theory was shaped by the idea that the Pergamene frieze was based on the three genealogies presented in Hesiod's *Theogony* (ll. 104-107): those born of Earth and Heaven, those born of Night, and those born of the salt Sea. Consequently she suggested that the descendants of Pontos occupied the NW wing and the western part of the north frieze. The central part of the north was dedicated to Nyx and her off-spring (rather than to constellations) while the eastern part of the north frieze and the entire east frieze depicted the Olympians. The south frieze was devoted to the Titans and the s/w wing incorporated the family of Dionysos and Hermes. In this sense, Simon had the three generations of gods fighting against the Giants - an arrangement that, according to her, was highly influenced by Stoic cosmology.³⁵

Simon disputed the Styx-theory suggesting that, according to Hesiod (*Theog.* l. 775) Styx did not participate in the battle against the Titans but stayed in the underworld. She also argued against Winnefeld's identification of Demeter by adopting von Massow's conclusions that the Demeter group should actually be restored on the east frieze and not on the north.³⁶ Simon's arguments on the identification of the figure of Nyx are actually the same as the ones put forward by Puchstein and Robert. Her major contribution to the north frieze is her identification of the god in the biting-group as Phaethon, the son of Eos, accompanied by his brother Heoos. The identification was based on the interpretation of the object in his right hand as a large key - an appropriate attribute for the night sexton of Aphrodite's temple in Heaven.³⁷ Harrison however noticed that her theory would allow the introduction into the battle of a mortal other than Herakles.³⁸

In addition, Simon argued that the figure of the long-haired goddess preceded by a lion and followed by a *ketos* belongs to Keto, mother of the Graiai and the Hesperides' snake; who in their turn mingle with Aither, Hemere, the Moirai and the Hesperides, children of Nyx.³⁹ Having identified Phaethon on the north frieze, she proceeded to identify the figure of the kneeling god fighting against the bull-headed giant on the south frieze as Tithonos, the mortal lover of Eos. However, she made no effort to provide a convincing explanation for the use of bull and lion-headed giants. Harrison disputed the Tithonos-theory, claiming that, as in the case of Phaethon, this interpretation allowed the participation of more than one mortal.⁴⁰ In general, apart from minor disagreements on individual identifications, Harrison believes that Simon's theory, based on a Hesiodic framework, provides us with a better understanding of the frieze and its tradition.

³⁴Simon *Pergamon und Hesiod* (1975).

³⁵See Chapter 1 p. 14.

³⁶Simon 11-12; W. von Massow, "Eine neue Kampfgruppe des Gigantenfrieses von Pergamon" *Jdl* 50 (1935) 70-77.

³⁷Simon 25-26.

³⁸E. Harrison, "Pergamon und Hesiod by E. Simon" *AJA* 82 (1978) 567-568.

³⁹Simon 12-17.

⁴⁰Simon 39-40; Harrison 568.

Simon's theory has been seriously challenged by Pfanner.⁴¹ He believes that the frieze was divided into areas of power which were defended by the appropriate ruling deities: the Olympians on the east; gods of the sea on the n/w and Asian divinities on the s/w wings; deities of day and night on the south frieze; and on the north frieze chthonic and underworld deities. His most ingenious contribution to the debate on the North frieze is the identification of the so-called Nyx figure as Persephone. His basic argument against the Nyx-identification is that the vessel held by the figure is not a crater, as would be expected if it represented the Crater constellation, but a hydria. He also noted that snake-bracelets belonged to a number of goddesses (Demeter, Kore, Hekate, Athena, Erinyes, Hygieia and Isis) but Nyx was not one of them. Finally, he identified the flower hanging from her woollen fillet as a pomegranate-flower, a symbol of Persephone, queen of the underworld; the woollen fillet was also characteristic of her cult, mysteries and sacrifices.

Consequently he argued that the north frieze depicted deities of the underworld and chthonic powers: the Graiai lie at the farthest end of Libya where no sun or moon ever shone; the Moirai distribute the lot of death; and the Hesperides follow the underworld gods and live beyond their dominion. From Homer (*Od.* 10.504-40, 11.13-50) we know that the underworld lay beyond the Ocean at the edge of the world. Therefore their restoration on the north frieze, the darkest side of the altar, followed by the deities of the sea, would appropriately reflect their dominion.

Pfanner's theory has not been considered seriously, mainly because he did not provide enough evidence for his identification of Persephone. His theory is disputed by Stewart precisely on the ground that the artist's desire to keep close relatives together would lead us to expect Persephone close to Demeter on the east frieze rather than the north.⁴² He also notes that Pfanner's geographical arrangement did not always work. Even though the sun, moon and stars (south frieze) face their actual locations in the southern sky, the Olympians (east) and the Asian deities (s/w wing) have their backs turned to their respective homes. In the case of the n/w wing he claims that, even though the deities of water faced the Black Sea and were thus in accordance with the view that the world was surrounded by the stream of Ocean, the same could be said if they were on any position on the frieze.⁴³ However, in rejecting Pfanner's theory, Stewart does not offer an alternative interpretation. His reading, instead, focuses on the use of aesthetic metaphors and iconographic allusions to transmit messages of Attalid superiority over enemies (see Chapter 5, Part A).

⁴¹M. Pfanner, "Bemerkungen zur Komposition und Interpretation des grossen Frieses von Pergamon" *AA* (1979) 46-57.

⁴²Stewart (1993) 130-174.

⁴³Stewart (1993) 157. According to Hesiod (ll. 790-792) the Ocean encircled the earth with 9 "silver-swirling" streams. Consequently, the deities of water would still be in accordance with this view notwithstanding their position on the frieze.

The North frieze reconsidered

The key to understanding and interpretation of the north frieze seems to be the identification of the beautiful goddess at the centre (Cat. no. 26.2). One of the most important clues to her identification is the flower at the end of the fillet which hangs from the back of her head. Evidently, it has some special significance for the goddess and her cult; and that significance would have been readily understood by the ancient viewer. Apart from Pfanner whose identification of Persephone depended on the flower being that of the pomegranate, no other scholar has made an attempt towards its interpretation. The identification of Styx and Nyx are based on speculation rather than evidence drawn from iconography or mythology.

The identification of Nyx is based solely on the assumption that the vessel and snake are the constellation of Hydra and Crater. As Pfanner pointed out, the vessel is not a crater but an hydria. Aratos describes the constellation as the complex of Hydra, Crater and the Raven.

“Another constellation trails beyond, which men call the Hydria. ... Midway on its coiling form is set the Crater, and at the tip the figure of a Raven that seems to peck at the coil. ...” (*Phain.* 444-449)

If the figure on the frieze was holding a symbolic representation of that constellation, it might be only natural to expect that a raven would somehow be depicted as well. Simon, one of the most prominent advocates of the Nyx theory, seems to contradict herself when identifying the figures on the north frieze. On the one hand she argues that the north side was dedicated to Nyx and her offspring, on the other she claims that Zeus's presence as king of rational order is felt throughout the frieze except the north side which was Hades' realm.⁴⁴ Despite acknowledging that the north side was Hades' dominion, hence the absence of Zeus' eagle and thunderbolts, Simon goes on to identify the goddess of night surrounded by her children.

The identification of the goddess as Styx, though seemingly more plausible than that of Nyx, should also be rejected. Her role in Hesiod is one of great importance, especially in the Titanomachy. Simon tried to argue against her by suggesting that, according to Hesiod, Styx never participated in the battle but rather stayed in the underworld. Her argument, however, cannot stand; for she seems to have wrongly interpreted the passage. The poet (l. 775) says the house of Styx is in the underworld but, when relating the events of the battle, he clearly states that Styx joined the Olympians with her four children (l. 389). Nonetheless, the Styx identification should probably be rejected for a different reason: the battle that Hesiod is describing is the Titanomachy and not the Gigantomachy. Styx's role was instrumental in the outcome of the former and not the latter. That the two battles were often confused in antiquity is a well known fact.⁴⁵ But to

⁴⁴See above p. 57 and Chapter 1 p. 14 nn. 80-82.

⁴⁵It is mostly Hellenistic and later writers that confuse Titans and Giants, merging the two groups in a single battle against the Olympians. There are however references in Euripides' works where the term Titans is

go as far as to suggest that the Pergamene goddess is Styx simply because of her role in the Titanomachy is far too oblique; there is no evidence, either literary or iconographic to afford Styx a role in the Gigantomachy.

The main argument against the identification of Persephone is that Demeter has been restored on the east frieze and Persephone should be there with her. That the two goddesses should be grouped together is based on the conviction that the altar's designer followed an arrangement based on Hesiod's family groups - goddesses depicted together with their offspring. The weakness in this argument can be seen in the frieze itself. Zeus is depicted on the east frieze and not on the south next to his mother Rhea. Likewise, Poseidon is depicted on the north frieze instead of the south. Aphrodite is not following Hesiod's genealogy but rather Homer's being depicted on the north frieze instead of the south accompanied by her Homeric mother Dione.⁴⁶ Finally, Dionysos instead of being depicted on the east frieze alongside his father Zeus is depicted on the s/w wing. In fact it seems that the frieze followed an arrangement based on spheres of dominion rather than (Hesiodic style) family groups.⁴⁷

Persephone and Hades ?

Of all the theories mentioned so far it seems that Pfanner's arguments for Persephone are the most plausible. His identification of the blossom as a pomegranate flower was confirmed by the expert opinion of the botanist Professor H. Paul who identified the five leaves and the calyx.⁴⁸ Pfanner, however, did not attempt to provide an explanation as to why the deity was depicted with such attributes: i.e. hydria and snake, fillet with pomegranate. Nor did he attempt to identify the deities depicted behind her.

The goddess is wearing a short veil, under which the beaded fillet with the flower is hanging. As Pfanner demonstrated, the veil is a characteristic of matronly and queenly figures on the frieze such as Hera and Rhea-Kybele. This figure is an exceptionally beautiful and young woman. Her face has a youthful quality reminiscent of Persephone's face on the abduction painting from Vergina.⁴⁹ It is quite obvious that, whoever she is, she is not a mother-figure. According to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (ll. 5-32), Persephone was only a child when Hades abducted her for his wife. She was taken to his palace in the underworld where she stayed until Zeus decided to grant Demeter's request and have her brought back to earth.⁵⁰ Upon her departure from Hades' palace, the king of the underworld gave her a pomegranate seed, thus making sure she would eventually return to him (ll. 371-374).

used to designate the Giants on the peplos of Athena (see below p. 77 n. 140). For a comprehensive list of ancient writers confusing the two battles see Vian (1952) 169-174

⁴⁶Aphrodite's birth: Hes. Th. ll. 188-200; Hom. Il. 5.375.

⁴⁷See below pp. 74-75.

⁴⁸Pfanner 46-57, esp. 53-56, and nos. 76-80.

⁴⁹From Royal Grave 1, *in situ*, Vergina, dated to ca. the third quarter of the 4th century BC; LIMC IV (1988; R. Lindrerr, S-C. Dahlinger, N. Yalouris) s.v. Hades no. 104.

⁵⁰*Homeric Hymn to Demeter* ll. 335-345.

The pomegranate seed has been interpreted as the symbolic representation of blood and death but also of courtship and marriage consummation.⁵¹ By eating the pomegranate seed Demeter's daughter ceased being Kore and became Persephone, the queen and wife of the Lord of the Underworld. As Queen of the Dead, Persephone becomes a very powerful goddess. She possesses the power to punish those who have wronged her. She becomes the avenger of sinners after death.⁵²

The youthful goddess on the Pergamene frieze has a peculiar beaded fillet attached at the back of her head. The two ends of it hang across her front and behind her back respectively. The end most visible to us (the one at the front) ends in a pomegranate flower; the other is hidden behind the goddess' back. Although Persephone was associated with the pomegranate, nowhere in her iconography has she been similarly represented. However, it may be possible to understand this unfamiliar motif, if it is explained in a specifically Pergamene context.

In Pergamon, south of the Athena precinct and to the n/w of the upper gymnasium, there is a sanctuary of Demeter. The inscription on the architrave of the temple records that it was dedicated by "Philetairos and Eumenes to Demeter on behalf of their mother Boa".⁵³ Excavation at the site, however, has revealed an earlier phase dating back to the 4th century BC.⁵⁴ In addition to the temple and altar, Philetairos built a stoa (300 ft. long) to the north of the complex with a *theatron* at its eastern end. In the years of Eumenes II (197-159 BC) the area was enclosed by a colonnade and the cult of Demeter was extended to incorporate that of the Kore as the inscription on the frieze above the propylon indicates.⁵⁵ The existence of the stone theatre has prompted scholars to argue that the worship at the sanctuary of Demeter involved mysteries, modelled after the Eleusinian (the theatre resembles the Eleusinian *telesterion*) and the Thesmophoria festival.⁵⁶

⁵¹N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 276; H.S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion II: Transition and reversal in myth and ritual* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993) 254-256; J.S. Clay, *The politics of Olympus: Form and meaning in the major Homeric hymns* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989) 252-1253; I. Chirassi, *Elementi di culture precereali nei miti e riti greci* (Rome, 1968) 73-90; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Reading Greek culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths* (Oxford, 1991) 183-4 n.60. A number of Korai, dating in the 6th century BC, recovered from the region of Attica, Samos, Chios, Thera and possibly Samos are depicted holding a pomegranate. They have been associated with funerary purposes; Boardman *AS* 24-25, see also figs. 99, 108, 109, 155.

⁵²*Homeric Hymn* II. 365-369.

⁵³H. Hepding places the dedication between 269-263 BC; "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1908-9" *AM* 35 (1910) nos. 22 and 23, 437-438; F. Rumscheid, "Die unbekannte Säulenbasis des Demeter-Tempels von Pergamon" *Ist.Mitt* 42 (1992) 347-350. See also Map 1.

⁵⁴C.H. von Bohtz, "Das Demeter-Heiligtum", *Altortümer von Pergamon* XIII (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1981) 56-57. This earlier sanctuary consisted of a *temenos*, altars, a *bothros* (offering pit), and a propylon.

⁵⁵The inscription reads: "Queen Apollonis erected the stoas and buildings as a votive offering to Demeter and Kore Thesmophoroi"; Hepding 439-442 no.24.

⁵⁶W. Dörpfeld, "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1908-09: I. Die Bauwerke" *AM* 35 (1910) 355, 369; A. Ippel, "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1910-1911. III. Einzelfunde" *AM* 37 (1912) 304-330; Hansen 222; von Bohtz 24-25, 59. Thomas, however, argues that the worship at the sanctuary was always centred around the festival of the Thesmophoria (even since Philetairos), and that there were no mysteries modelled after the Eleusinian example until the Roman times; Thomas (1998) 277-298, esp. 283-289.

That the Attalid kings were interested in and probably initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries is further attested by a statement in Livy (31.47.1-2), that ca. 200 BC Attalos I attended the mysteries at Eleusis. The votive offerings and the inscription above the propylon testify to the celebration of the Thesmophoria festival in the city.⁵⁷ We know that queen Apollonis was from Kyzikos where Persephone was worshipped as Soteira and her festival was called Pherephattia, Koreia or Soteiria.⁵⁸ On the obverse of Kyzikene coins (dating from ca. 400 to 280 BC) Kore is depicted wearing a veil. On the reverse torches are depicted standing erect, entwined with serpents or ears of grain and poppies.⁵⁹

The small temple of Demeter and Kore Thesmophoroi had a frieze decorated with *bucrania* (garlanded heads of sacrificed bulls). What is important about this frieze is that the *stemmata* do not end in strands of wool as was the custom but in the blossoms of a flower identical to the one hanging from Persephone's fillet (Fig. 32).⁶⁰ The motif is of great importance to our interpretation because not only does it relate the figure on the frieze to the person of Kore/Persephone but it also associates her specifically with the cult of Demeter and Kore in Pergamon. It is very likely that to the ancient viewer this correlation would have been immediately understood.

Persephone's other attributes on the frieze are the snake bracelets and the hydria with the entwined serpent. The Thesmophoria was the most popular Greek festival in the cult of Demeter and Kore.⁶¹ According to the ancient sources the three-day festival was open to married women and maidens past puberty.⁶² During the Thesmophoria officials of the cult known as Ἀντλήτριαι (= they who draw out) bring forward "sacred things" that are made of dough: models of snakes and male membra.⁶³ If the votive offerings and the dedicatory inscription on the frieze above the propylon may be considered as testimony to the existence of a Thesmophoria festival in Pergamon, then the snake-goddess of the north frieze would have made a great impression on the Pergamenes: to the Pergamene women who worshipped Kore Thesmophoros and also to their husbands who had to pay for the expenses of the Thesmophoria.⁶⁴ Her iconography would have probably been readily comprehensible.

⁵⁷A large number of terracotta female figurines have been discovered at the site. They all wear *himation*, *chiton*, and head coverings, and have arms upraised in prayer; C.H. von Bohtz and W.D. Albert, "Die Untersuchungen am Demeter-Heiligtum in Pergamon" *AA* 85 (1970) 391-412, esp. 400-402 pls. 13-20; H. Hepding, "Die Einzelfunde" *AM* 35 (1910) 519-520, figs. 5-6.

⁵⁸Polybios *Histories* 22.20.2 (Apollonis' origin). Appian *Mithridates* 75 (on the cult of Kore Soteira in Kyzikos).

⁵⁹Head 526-527; L.R. Farnell, *The cults of the Greek states* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907) 229-230, coin pl. nos.4, 6, 7.

⁶⁰Fig. 32: von Bohtz 41-46, Table 27; F.T. van Straten, *Hiera Kala: Images of animal sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995) 162 and plates 17, 19, 43-46.

⁶¹Versnel 235-260.

⁶²Aristophanes, also suggests that the festival was open to women of the upper classes (*Thesmophoriazousai*, 330); Kallimachos *Hymn to Demeter* l. 45 (open to married women and girls past puberty). For more ancient testimonia see K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult: The iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Stockholm: Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 1992) 35, n.109.

⁶³Lucian *Dialogi Deorum* 2.1 (dated in 2nd century AD); Sch. Lucian 276 Rabe.

⁶⁴Menander *Epitrepontes* l. 522; Isaïos *On the Estate of Pyrrhus* (III) 80.

The hydria can likewise be associated with Persephone and her iconography. A number of *hydriskoi* (small hydriai) have been found at the Pergamene sanctuary of Demeter. They are considered to be symbolic offerings related to the concept of purity and water during the fasting day (2nd day) of the festival.⁶⁵ A red-figure dinos in the Jean-Paul Getty Museum depicts on one side Demeter with Triptolemos and Kore and on the other a libation scene.⁶⁶ The libation scene depicts a man holding a sceptre in his left hand and a phiale in his right. Opposite him stands a woman with an hydria offering him a libation. The inscription under the man identifies him as Theos. Both figures are dressed in a chiton with distinctive decoration. They seem to be of equal importance and it has been suggested that the woman offering him libation is Thea. The appellations Theos and Thea are used to identify Hades and Persephone. This vase is particularly important as the inscription Theos helps us to identify similar pairs in Eleusinian scenes as Hades and Persephone.⁶⁷

The figure of the male god standing behind Persephone in panel 83 (Cat. no. 26) is depicted in the same pose as Zeus and Okeanos. He is wearing an exomis like Okeanos; he is holding a shield in his left hand and is fighting with what was probably a sword. His close proximity to Persephone, his pose and composure, similar only to that of Zeus and Okeanos, probably indicates that he was of a god of significant status; like Persephone they are depicted in the centre of the frieze.

According to Claudian's *Gigantomachia* (37) Iris, the messenger of the gods, was sent to summon the immortal council. Among the gods sent for were the ghosts together with Persephone and Hades.

“Meanwhile Iris, messenger of the gods, summons the immortal council. There come the deities of river and lake; the very ghosts were there in heaven’s defence. Hell’s shady portals could not hold Proserpine (Persephone) afar; the king of the silent (Hades) himself advances in his Lethaeon chariot. His horses fear the light which hitherto their astonished eyes have never looked upon and, swerving this way and that, they breath forth thick vapour from their soot-black nostrils.” (ll. 42-48)

Even though this is a 4th century AD reference to Persephone's and Hades' participation in the war it is important for an understanding of the frieze's arrangement. Demeter and Kore Thesmophoroi had an important cult in Pergamon. The female goddess on the north frieze holds and wears attributes that characterise Persephone/Kore and her cult. The fillet with the pomegranate flower, the hydria and the snake, the veil and the snake bracelets were all symbols that would have been understood by the ancient Pergamenes and even more so by those initiated into the rites of the Thesmophoria. The reason why Persephone is not depicted fighting alongside her mother is because she is represented not as Demeter's daughter but as Queen of the Underworld and wife of Hades.

⁶⁵Bohtz and Albert 403 pl. 26; see also E. Diehl *Die Hydria: Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums* (Mainz: Zabern 1964) 187-192.

⁶⁶Attributed to the Syleos Painter, Inv. no. 89. AE.73 (late Archaic); Clinton 106-107, figs. 43-47. For more examples see Clinton 107-110.

⁶⁷Clinton 105-113. For the identification of Theos and Thea as Hades and Persephone see Clinton esp. 114-5 and notes with bibliography.

Persephone and Hades have joined the battle as the avenging gods of the dead; they have been summoned by Zeus to punish the *hybris* committed by the giants. As such, they are surrounded by minor deities and ghosts that live with them in the underworld.

Aphrodite

The transitional link between the Olympians and the deities of the Underworld was Aphrodite and her mother Dione. It is not accidental that the designer of the frieze chose to represent the Homeric rather than the Hesiodic version of her lineage.⁶⁸ Börker suggested that he did not wish to remind the spectator of such an unfortunate story (the castration of Ouranos).⁶⁹ He also argued that the Homeric version was more tactful in respect to the goddess' image.

However, such an interpretation rather dismisses all earlier depictions and literary references to Aphrodite's Hesiodic birth as tactless and crude. On the contrary, the Hesiodic birth of Aphrodite stressed the goddess' sensual and erotic character (born of the blood of Ouranos' testicles). In Greek art it is mostly this aspect of the goddess' nature that is represented and worshipped. After all, she was the goddess of love and it is only logical that her birth would have a strong and even dramatic (castration) relation to the vital love-making parts of the human body. A comparatively similar kind of birth (in terms of interpretation) is Athena's. She came out of the head of Zeus and was thus primarily worshipped as the goddess of wisdom; her warrior nature was stressed at birth when she appeared in full armour.

In contrast to the Hesiodic version, that of Homer does not stress Aphrodite's nature as the erotic goddess. Like all others, it is a simple birth from the union of a god and a goddess. It is plausible, therefore, to suggest that her Homeric birth stressed a different aspect of her nature that could probably be understood through Dione. The Okeanid nymph was the consort of Zeus at his oracle in Dodone, where she had a cult as Naia beside Zeus Naios. Even though there is no certain evidence that Aphrodite was also worshipped at Dodone together with her mother and father, it might be plausible to suggest that she inherited some of her mother's chthonic powers.⁷⁰ Indeed, the chthonic aspect of

⁶⁸Homer *Il.* 5.370-1, *Od.* 8.308, 8.320 (daughter of Zeus and the Okeanid Dione); Hesiod *ll.* 188-202 (born of Ouranos' severed genitals). In art, the preferred version of the goddess' birth seems to be the Hesiodic. The earliest surviving examples date to the middle of the 5th century BC; e.g. The "Ludovisi throne", from Rome (the area of the Gardens of Sallust), in the Terme Museum (8570) in Rome, dated ca. 460 BC; Boardman CS fig. 45

⁶⁹C. Börker, "Ein Linkshänder im Gigantenkampf" *AA* (1978) 286.

⁷⁰Zeus *Naios* was worshipped with Dione at Dodona which was the only place that Zeus was prominently worshipped as an oracular god. According to the hymn of the priestesses at Dodona (Pausanias 10.12.10) Zeus was worshipped together with an earth goddess, who has been identified as Dione; cf. also Strabo 7.7.12. The oracle acquired importance under the encouragement of Pyrrhus and the festival of *Naia* was still celebrated in AD 241/2. On the basis of a 2nd century AD inscription (from a dedication to Aphrodite) from one of the rooms at the oracle, it has been suggested that Aphrodite was also worshipped there; C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris: 1878) pl. 26.1. However, as Farnell noted, one single inscription is not sufficient evidence; Farnell (1907) vol. 2 621a. See also U. Sinn, *Olympia: Kult, Sport und Fest in der Antike* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck 1996).

Aphrodite's character is attested not only by her many chthonic epithets but also by her association with Persephone, Queen of the Underworld.⁷¹

Perhaps the most famous myth of Aphrodite in relation to Persephone is the myth of Adonis.⁷² According to the story, Aphrodite gave the infant to Persephone in a basket to look after. Persephone, however, falling in love with the youth refused to give him back to Aphrodite who appealed to Zeus. Finally, it was decided that Adonis would spend a third of the year with Persephone, a third with Aphrodite, and a third by himself. Aphrodite persuaded Adonis into granting her his third. The jealous Persephone caused his death by having him gored by a wild boar. The mourning Aphrodite requested from Zeus that he would spend with her half of the year and the other half in the underworld with Persephone.

The story of Adonis has a number of similarities with the story of Persephone's abduction by Hades, especially the decision to share half of the year with her mother and the other half with Hades as Queen of the Underworld. Aphrodite's connection with Persephone, however, becomes more apparent from vases depicting Eleusinian scenes. According to the *Hymn to Demeter* (ll. 420-425) Persephone in her narration of the abduction says that she was picking flowers with Artemis, Athena and Ourania (another epithet of Aphrodite).⁷³ In art there are a lot of examples of 4th century BC vases depicting the abduction scene with Aphrodite, Artemis and Athena present.⁷⁴ According to Euripides (*Hekabe* l. 1349) Aphrodite was the comforter of Demeter while the goddess was looking for her daughter. This is the only literary reference to Aphrodite being in any way involved with the abduction myth and it would probably be without real substance if the goddess of love did not appear on a series of 4th century BC vases depicting scenes from the Eleusinian mysteries.⁷⁵

⁷¹Aphrodite was worshipped as: Epitymbia (Delphi: Plutarch *Roman Questions* 269 B), Melainis (= Black one at: Thespiai, Korinth, Mantinea; Pausanias, 9.27.5; 2.2.4; 8.6.5 respectively), Tymborichos (Argos: Clemens Alexandrinus *Protreptikos* 33P); for more see Farnell (1907) vol. 2 652-653. An inscription from the Ismenion at Thebes names Aphrodite as Phersephaessa (Farnell (1907) vol. II n.110.1), an epithet of Persephone. In Plutarch (*Greek Questions* 44) funeral ceremonies in honour of Aphrodite are held in Aigina. According to Epimenides (6th century BC; 3B19; Scholia, Lykophron 406) Aphrodite was the daughter of Kronos and sister of the Moirai and the Erinyes, while in Athens she was called the Eldest of the Fates (Pausanias, 1.19.2). Pliny (*NH* 36.17) associated her with Nemesis at Rhamnous; a deity of retribution. At the sanctuary of Persephone at Lokri, Aphrodite has been represented on many *pinakes* bearing homage to Hades and Persephone; Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 151-2, 153-163.

⁷²Apollodoros 3.14.3-4; Hyginus *Poetic Astronomy* 2.7; *Fabulae* 58, 164, 251. For more literary and iconographic references to the myth see T. Gantz, *Early Greek myth* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993) 102-103.

⁷³On Aphrodite's epithet Ourania and the various places she was worshipped see Farnell (1907) vol. 2 633-636, in art see 677-9, 683-4.

⁷⁴*LIMC* IV s.v. Hades nos. 88, 112, 113, 116 etc.

⁷⁵e.g.: Hydria, from Rhodes now in Istanbul (Archaeological Museums, Museum of Classical Antiquities), dated in the early 4th century BC, depicting on the upper left corner Aphrodite; Attic hydria, from Krete, in Athens (National Museum), dated ca. early 4th century BC, Aphrodite depicted between Dionysos and Semele, in the centre the Eleusinian pair surrounded by other Eleusinian deities; C. Kerényi, *Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and daughter* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967) figs. 51, 48, see also fig.49. Hydria, in St. Petersburg, dated ca. early 4th century BC, depicting an array of Eleusinian gods sitting around the Eleusinian pair, the two seated goddesses on the two corners could be Aphrodite (right) and Dione (left, seated on omphalos); Kerényi fig. 53.

Perhaps the most famous example is a pelike from Kertsch (Fig. 33).⁷⁶ It depicts in the centre the Eleusinian couple (Demeter seated, Kore standing) with the infant Ploutos between them. The upper frieze presents, from the left: Herakles, Eubouleus, Triptolemos in his chariot and Dionysos. In the lower left corner Aphrodite is seated with the winged Eros at her feet. On the right, is another female deity (unidentified, but perhaps Dione) sitting on an omphalos; with her right hand under her chin, she is looking attentively at the Eleusinian pair.

The presence of Aphrodite on these Eleusinian vases has not so far been explained. Farnell argued that it was merely artistic innovation.⁷⁷ Kerényi argues that the goddess' presence was probably suggestive of the *hieros gamos* between Persephone/Kore and Hades/Plouton.⁷⁸ Finally, Clinton holds that the seated female figure flanking the Eleusinian pair in all these vases, is not Aphrodite. Instead he argues that the female figure is usually Kore who, along with Demeter, is duplicated on the vases which depict several stages of the mysteries that only the initiate would have understood.⁷⁹

Clinton's duplication argument however, does not seem to work for all the vases. On the pelike from Kertsch (Fig. 33) he identifies the seated figure on the right as Demeter sitting on the *agelastos petra* grieving for her lost daughter; on the left is Kore. However, the goddess' position, resting her chin on her hand and looking up, is not the traditional grieving position which on funerary stelai involves wearing a veil with the head resting on the hand. Likewise on a hydria in the Abegg-Stiftung (Bern) the figure on the far right, whom Clinton interprets as Demeter, is counter-balanced by Eubouleus and not Kore.⁸⁰

From the evidence above it becomes obvious that Aphrodite had a chthonic character or was closely associated with chthonic powers (especially Persephone). This is evident not only in her mythology (Adonis), and cults (local epithets, e.g. Lokrian *pinakes*) but also in the secret iconography of the Eleusinian mysteries. Considering that the north frieze depicted the Queen and King of the Underworld surrounded by deities of destiny and dark powers, it is only natural that Aphrodite and Dione would be chosen to form the link. To the ancient viewer the iconographic transition from the realm of the Olympians to that of the Dead was probably understood without difficulty. The goddess of love was depicted with her sensual and clingy garments fully revealing her erotic character. Yet, she is standing next to her Homeric mother Dione, thus emphasising her chthonic nature and thus introducing the powers of the underworld.

⁷⁶Fig. 33: In the Hermitage museum in St. Petersburg (inv. nr. 1792), dated ca. the early 4th century BC; Kerényi fig.50. The vases with the name Kertsch are called so after the place they were discovered in southern Russia. As they all come from tombs, Clinton (91, n.143) argues that the vases belonged to the initiates in whose tomb they were found, and that they had been bought by them at the Eleusinian mysteries.

⁷⁷Farnell (1907) vol. 2 245-248.

⁷⁸Kerényi 161.

⁷⁹Clinton, 78-84.

⁸⁰In the Kertsch style dated in the 4th century BC; Clinton, 83-84, fig. 23.

Hesperides' snake and the Hesperides

In front of Persephone the fragment of a large snake survives (Cat. no. 26, panel 86). It does not belong to a snake-legged giant as it is larger than the snakes that form their lower parts. It has been identified as the Snake of the Hesperides (offspring of Keto and sibling of the Graiai), which together with the Hesperides (daughters of Night) guard the golden apples.⁸¹ Their home is in the earth's darkest place, a garden beyond Okeanos.⁸² It seems that in the space between panels 86-87 at least three female deities were depicted. The fragment of the boot in panel 86 (Cat. no. 26a) probably belonged to the (now lost) figure depicted before the one in panel 87. From the traces, seen on the top left corner of panel 87 (Cat. no. 27), it seems that the lost figure was carrying a spear. The female goddess in panel 87 is carrying bow and quiver, just like Artemis in panel 43 (Cat. no. 15), and it is therefore quite likely that she, too, was wearing a short knee-length chiton. Consequently, the fragment of a long chiton visible in the bottom left corner of panel 88 (Cat. no. 27) belonged to another female figure, following the one in panel 87.

Moirai and Graiai

Both the Moirai (Cat. no. 27) and the Graiai can be restored on the frieze with a considerable degree of certainty due to the surviving inscriptional evidence (see Table 2). As Pfanner noted, their position on the frieze as deities of fate (Moirai) and darkness (Graiai) is quite appropriate.⁸³ In Hesiod the Moirai are called in one passage daughters of Night and sisters of the goddesses of death and the Hesperides, while in another they are daughters of Zeus and Themis and sisters of the Horai.⁸⁴ Their names are Klotho (the spinner), who spins the thread of life; Lachesis (disposer of lots), who determines its length; and Atropos (inevitable), who cuts it off. Hesiod considers them great divinities who prosecute the transgressions of mortals and gods.

The Graiai (the grey-haired women) were daughters of Keto and Phorkys. Hesiod mentions only two: Pephredo and Enyo, whereas Pherekydes includes a third one, Deino.⁸⁵ They are beings of dreadful appearance with one eye and one tooth that they shared between them. They lived at the farthest end beyond Okeanos near the plain of the Gorgons.⁸⁶ Their terrifying appearance and the proximity of their home to that of the underworld makes them appropriate candidates for the north side alongside the deities of the underworld. Even though the panels depicting the Graiai are now lost their presence on the frieze is assured by a surviving inscription attesting to at least one of them.⁸⁷

⁸¹See above Pfanner and Simon pp. 57-58.

⁸²Hesperides' snake: Hes. *Th.* ll. 336-338. Hesperides: Hes. *Th.* ll. 215-216. See also Table 3.

⁸³Pfanner 55-56.

⁸⁴*Th.* ll. 211-217, 906-910 respectively.

⁸⁵Hes. *Th.* ll. 270-273; Pherekydes in Jacoby, *FGrH.* 3F11

⁸⁶Aischylos *Prometheus Desmotes* ll. 792-797; Hes. ll. 274-283.

⁸⁷IvP no. 93.

Erinyes?

Behind Hades, a winged female figure is depicted fighting (Cat. no. 25, panel 82). The *Erinyes* were the goddesses of vengeance. According to different versions they were considered daughters of Earth, Night, Phorkys or, according to the Orphics, children of Hades and Persephone.⁸⁸ They punish every transgression of natural order and especially offences which touch the foundation of human society.⁸⁹ They live in the underworld where they carry on pursuing and punishing the sinners. In art they are depicted with or without wings and snakes in their hair carrying flaming torches or whips (Fig. 34).⁹⁰ As a deity of revenge and retribution she would be very well suited to the north frieze.

Dioskouroi

Despite the reluctance of some scholars to identify the Dioskouroi in the two male figures following Dione (Cat. no. 24, panels 75, 77) it seems to be the most plausible interpretation.⁹¹ To begin with, it is not at variance with Gigantomachy iconography.⁹² The Melos amphora (ca. 400-390 BC, Fig. 31) depicts on its upper frieze the two brothers riding into battle. Their appearance on an earlier example and on at least three later ones indicates that the participation of the Dioskouroi in the battle was not unprecedented. The strongest opposing argument seems to be the surviving traces of an inscription restored above the figure in panel 75.⁹³ It is, however, too badly preserved to make conclusive remarks on its restoration.

The identification of the divine twins on the north side would not be inappropriate. According to their mythology they were given by Zeus eternal life on alternating days.⁹⁴ This meant that like Persephone they would spend half their time in the underworld and the other half on earth. Their strongest connection with Kore/Persephone, however, comes from the Eleusinian Mysteries. According to Xenophon, Triptolemos invited Herakles and the Dioskouroi to become initiates to the mysteries.⁹⁵ Like Aphrodite, the Dioskouroi were also depicted on vases with an Eleusinian context.⁹⁶ Their connection with the underworld

⁸⁸Hes. ll. 184-185, 472; Aischylos *Eumenides* 1.416; *Orphic Hymn* 69.8, 70.2

⁸⁹e.g.: Hom. *Il.* 9.453-6, 9.571-2; in Aischylos' *Eumenides* they pursue Orestes for the murder of his mother.

⁹⁰e.g. (winged): Bell crater by the Hearst Painter, "Orestes at Athens", Berlin 4565, (dated ca. 420-415 BC); Calyx crater, by the Underworld Painter, "punishment of Dirke", Melbourne, Geddes collection (A 5:4) dated ca. 330-320 BC (Fig. 34); (without wings), Volute crater, follower of the Lykourgos Painter, "The Underworld", Karlsruhe B 4, (dated ca. 350 BC); A. Trendall, *Red-figure vases of South Italy and Sicily* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989) nos. 43, 211, 151 respectively, for more examples see also nos. 57, 209.

⁹¹See above p. 55.

⁹²Winnefeld 137. There are three more examples but they post-date the altar: *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes nos. 481, 488, 526.

⁹³IvP no.106: ... ΟΣ, restored as [ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡ]ΟΣ.

⁹⁴According to Homer (*Od.* 11.301-4) they spend half their days under the earth and on alternate days they are alive. Furthermore, they receive honour equal to that of gods.

⁹⁵Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.3.2-6.

⁹⁶e.g. (Eleusinian Mysteries the Dioskouroi, as initiates, are led by two females holding torches) Bell crater by the Pourtales Painter, London F 68 from S. Agata de' Goti, (early 4th century BC); Boardman *ARFVC* fig. 372. Belly amphora, in the Kertsch style, in Kos Archaeological Museum, also dated in the 4th century BC (earliest representation of the Dioskouroi as initiates); Clinton 68-69, n. 33, fig. 34 for more examples see also fig. 30.

and the Eleusinian cult of Kore/Persephone makes them appropriate companions for Persephone and the underworld deities of the north frieze.

Kastor was the twin who excelled in horse-riding, unlike his immortal brother who excelled in boxing. The figure of the god in the biting-group (panel 77) is evidently Kastor (the mortal twin) who is being overcome by the cheating and ferocity of his opponent. The waist-lock that the giant has employed to overpower his opponent is reminiscent of moves from wrestling and the pankration (Fig. 35).⁹⁷ However, he is not playing fair. To overpower his opponent, the giant is biting his left arm, a move that was forbidden in the sports of wrestling and the pankration.⁹⁸ It was considered a characteristic of womanly behaviour, not fit for warriors.

On the other hand, Kastor has slipped his legs under the giant's snake-legs, so as to avoid being overthrown. Ὑποσκελίζειν (= tripping) was an essential part of Greek wrestling and was used not only offensively but also defensively.⁹⁹ It seems that the artist tried to show in an allegorical way Kastor's hopelessness in the sport of his brother. The giant has succeeded in overpowering him only because he used trickery. However, even in that desperate moment, Kastor manages to wrap his legs around his opponent's hoping to trip him. The outcome of the battle seems certain. However, whenever tripping was employed in wrestling, either defensively or offensively, it was usually successful.

According to the heroes' mythology, a similar trick was used to deprive Kastor of his life.¹⁰⁰ During a dispute between the Dioskouroi and their cousins the Apharetidai over cattle, Kastor was killed. His death, however, came from trickery. One of the Apharetidai (Lynkeus) caught sight of the Dioskouroi from the summit of Taygetos. Idas (the other brother) running down the slope threw his spear at the tree, behind which Kastor was hiding, and transfixed him.

Hermes

On the north frieze one of the most difficult figures to identify is the god in panels 79-80. The Berlin Museum has accepted the identification of the constellation Orion (Table 3). However, in the underworld context the figure of Orion does not really have a place. His badly preserved figure does not give any clues to his identity except for the animal-skin hanging over his left shoulder. Similarly, the identification of the figure as a

⁹⁷Fig. 35: Panathenaic vase, black figure, "Wrestler about to lift his opponent with a waist-lock", ca. 360-359 BC, from Eretria, in Eretria Museum; M.B. Poliakoff, *Combat sports in the ancient world: competition, violence and culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987) fig. 31. See below p. 91, nn. 211-212.

⁹⁸Plutarch *Alkibiades* 2; Alkibiades, while hard-pressed in wrestling, bit his opponent's arms to save himself from falling. His opponent cried out: "You bite, Alkibiades, as women do". See also *Apophthegmata Lakonika* 234 D, 44. In art, when a wrestler is depicted resorting to biting there is a referee beating him with a stick; see two Panathenaic Amphorae in the British Museum (B 604; signed by Kittos, and B 610; in the archonship of Niketes 332 BC), both dated in the 4th century BC; E.N. Gardiner, *Greek athletic sports and festivals* (London: Macmillan and Co. 1910) figs. 157-158 respectively.

⁹⁹*Il.* 23.730-31: Odysseus uses tripping offensively against Ajax. *Il.* 23.725-6: Odysseus uses tripping against Ajax, who has employed a waist-lock move, to avoid being lifted; on tripping see also Gardiner 397-8; Poliakoff 40. For iconographic examples see Gardiner figs. 116, 123.

¹⁰⁰Pindar *N.* 10.60-72; Apollodoros 3.11.2.

river god or Phobos cannot be accepted as they are based on assumption - if Styx or Night is depicted then she will be followed by river gods or deities of war - rather than iconographic or even literary evidence.

One of the most prominent figures in the Gigantomachy was Hermes.¹⁰¹ His group on the Pergamene frieze is considered to be lost. Some restored it on the SW stairs along with nymphs and Maia (Table 3). But it seems that, if Hermes was depicted at all, he would most probably, as *psychopompos*, have been on the north frieze with Underworld deities.

Hermes was the god of herdsmen and shepherds but also messenger of Zeus to Hades.¹⁰² His important function as *psychopompos* (conveyor of souls) involved bringing the souls of mortals to the Underworld.¹⁰³ Hermes also possessed the gift of divination, taught to him by the Thriai to whom he was sent by Apollo.¹⁰⁴ His union with Aphrodite resulted to the birth of Eros (panel 72).¹⁰⁵ In the myth of Persephone's abduction he was sent by Zeus to Hades to bring Persephone back to the world of the living.¹⁰⁶ In art he is depicted guiding the chariot of Hades during the abduction scene but also in the Underworld together with Hades and Persephone.¹⁰⁷ In the context of the Eleusinian Mysteries he appears as Hermes Enagonios to assist the initiates on their journey.¹⁰⁸

In the Gigantomachy myth he wears Hades' cap, which makes him invisible.¹⁰⁹ The north frieze might well be the most appropriate place for Hermes. He fights alongside his consort and child, Aphrodite and Eros, on the side of the deities of the Underworld and the initiates whom, in the form of Enagonios, he led through the initiatory journey at Eleusis. The animal-skin hanging from his left shoulder probably alludes to his role as lord of the shepherds.¹¹⁰ Consequently, one may convincingly argue that Hermes' place on the north frieze is well justified not only in terms of his character - associated with the Underworld - but also in his attested participation in the Gigantomachy battle fighting alongside Hades.

North frieze summary

It seems evident that the designer of the North frieze wished to lay special emphasis on the role of the chthonic powers in the context of the Gigantomachy. It could also be

¹⁰¹ LIMC IV s.v. Gigantes nos. 2, 34^{bis}, 104-106, 108, 110, 153 etc.

¹⁰² God of all herdsmen: Homer *Il.* 1.603; *Homeric hymn to Hermes* ll. 496-9; Hyginus *Fabula* 191. Messenger of Zeus to Hades: *Homeric hymn to Hermes* ll. 568-573.

¹⁰³ e.g. Pindar *O.* 9.33-35; Aischylos *Hiketides* 228-31, *Eumenides* 273-5, Hermes appears as actually judging the deeds that the dead committed while they were alive.

¹⁰⁴ *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* ll. 552-566, 568-573 (lord of all birds of omen).

¹⁰⁵ Cicero *Natura Deorum* 3.56, 59, 60. At another passage Cicero suggests (3.56) that Eros is the son of Persephone and Hermes.

¹⁰⁶ *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* ll. 335-345; Apollodoros 1.5.1-3.

¹⁰⁷ Hermes in the abduction scene: LIMC IV (1988; I. Krauskopf) s.v. Hades nos. 84-86, 88-90, 104, 100a, 116 etc. Hermes with Persephone and Hades in the Underworld: LIMC IV s.v. Hades nos. 51-57; see also scenes paying homage together with Aphrodite to the divine pair on *pinakes* found in the Lokrian sanctuary of Persephone, Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 155, n.30.

¹⁰⁸ IG I.3 5 I. 3; Clinton 83, n.109, figs. 26-28, 34.

¹⁰⁹ Apollodoros 1.6.2

¹¹⁰ In art, he was often depicted wearing an animal skin over his chiton, see LIMC V (1990; G. Siebert) s.v. Hermes.

argued that the gods and mortals depicted between Aphrodite and Persephone had a special relationship; they were connected through the Eleusinian mysteries. Such an interpretation would be in accordance with the evidence for Attalid interest in Eleusis and the Eleusinian mysteries.¹¹¹ If the Attalids attempted to introduce into Pergamon the mysteries of the Great Goddesses (the Thesmophoria was already attested) it is probable that they would make special reference to them on the frieze, using iconographic details (pomegranate flower, snakes, hydria) which would have been understood by the initiated.

With Persephone in the centre, a further transition is made between the Eleusinian group and the deities of destiny and fate: Hesperides, Moirai and Graiai, who in the end, are followed by the deities of water, Keto forming the transitional link.

Thus the figures on the north frieze should probably be identified as: Aphrodite, Eros, Dione, Polydeukes, Kastor, Hermes, Erinyes, Hades, Persephone, Hesperides (?), Moirai, Graiai, Keto, Poseidon (Foldout 1).

Some observations on the taumorphic group on the south frieze

One of the most ingenious individual contributions was proposed by Davesne in 1975 and involved the kneeling figure who fights against the bull-headed giant on the south frieze (Cat. no. 7, panels 15-17).¹¹² Davesne suggested that he was Kephalos, the mortal lover of Eos and a formidable hunter. In this mortal the viewer saw a powerful hunter who awaits his bestial enemy to attack by thrusting his spear into his enemy's chest. Davesne's conclusion came from a careful consideration of the weapon the figure was holding with both hands. This proved to be a short spear, similar to the one used in boar-hunting, rather than a sword as all others before him had suggested. In addition, the figure's stance is that of a hunter braced with his spear against the attack of a wild beast as described by Xenophon in *Kynegetika* (10.11-12). Davesne thus avoided the need to assume a god depicted in so precarious a situation.

Although Davesne's and Börker's identification offers an attractive interpretation of the figure's position, it poses a lot of problems. To begin with, the position of the figure in panel 17 is not quite the one described by Xenophon (10.10-12) or by Pollux (*Onomasticon* 5. 23-24). On the contrary, it is considered dangerous for the hunter to fall when the beast attacks, as he can be gored by its tusks. Xenophon's description is as follows:

"Hold the spear with the left hand forward, the right hand back. The left hand guides, the right thrusts home. The left foot goes first, following the left hand, and the right foot follows the right hand. Go forward and keep the spear in front of you, keeping your legs not much further apart than in wrestling, and the left side turned towards the left hand ... Then he (the fallen man that has risen from the ground) should bring forward his spear again in the same way and thrust it inside the shoulder blade, where the throat is, and pushing it against it, hold on with all his might. The boar ... will push himself forward along the shaft and reach the man who is holding the spear." (*Kynegetika* 10.11-12)

¹¹¹See above pp. 61-62.

¹¹²A. Davesne, "Remarques sur la grande frise de l' autel de Pergame" *REA* (1975) 74-79. In his article, Börker (282-287) argued exactly the same theory but gave no reference to Davesne's article.

From the passage, it is evident that the hunter should be standing rather than kneeling. Xenophon's description of the position of the boar-hunter is supported by the iconographic evidence. A good example comes from the lip-frieze of the François Vase depicting the Calydonian boar-hunt (Fig. 36).¹¹³ The figure in panel 17 has not assumed the position for which Davesne and Börker argued and it is, therefore, not necessary to identify him as the hunter Kephalos.

Kephalos was a mortal and should thus, by definition, be excluded from the battle of gods against the giants. His introduction to the battle degrades the power of the gods as they seem in need of help from mortals (other than the traditional Herakles). Furthermore, his presence in the battle has no literary or iconographic precedent.

In his effort he is aided by the figure in panel 15, identified by his hammer as Hephaistos. If the figure in panel 17 were Kephalos, it is not clear why Hephaistos would come to his aid. Nor is it clear why Hephaistos would appear on the south frieze rather than the east. He is an Olympian and a child of Hera. As a second generation god his place is on the east with his mother, brothers and sisters. The identification of this figure as Hephaistos depends entirely on the identification of his weapon as a hammer. However, Winnefeld suggested that the figure represents one of the Kabeiroi coming in aid of his brother (Fig. 37).¹¹⁴

The figures in the taumorphic group reveal a close degree of companionship. For in no other place on the frieze is a god assisted in his struggle against a giant by another god. The reconstruction of Hephaistos does not satisfactorily explain the "bonding" of these two figures nor is Hephaistos in any other place associated with Kephalos.

In identifying these two figures it is important to view them in the divine context to which they belong. The south frieze seems to be allocated to the first generation of gods: the Kronids, children of Kronos and Rhea. The two gods depicted in panels 15-17 should be members of this family group or are at least associated with them. The pair is depicted following Rhea/Kybele and Adrasteia (panels 11-14). Their identification as the Kabeiroi seems to be more plausible than the one proposed by Davesne and Börker.¹¹⁵

According to Pausanias (1.4.6), the land of Pergamon was sacred to the Kabeiroi from "old times". An inscription from Pergamon associates the Kabeiroi with the birth of Zeus; they witnessed the god's birth from the acropolis of Pergamon.¹¹⁶ Although we have only scant evidence for the cult of the Kabeiroi and its function in Pergamon, a number of

¹¹³Fig. 36: Volute crater, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, Florence Museum (4209), from Chiusi, dated ca. 560 BC; J. Boardman, *Athenian black-figure vases* (1974; London: Thames and Hudson, reprint 1997) fig. 46.3. For more examples see also *LIMC* VI (1992; I. Krauskopf) s.v. Meleagros nos. 7, 24, 26, or *LIMC* II (1984; J. Boardman) s.v. Atalante.

¹¹⁴Fig. 37: Winnefeld 20, Abb. 1. See also, Puchstein, Vian, and Simon in Table 3.

¹¹⁵The origin of these two figures is debated: Pherekydes (3F48) argues that they are children of Hephaistos and Kabeiro (daughter of Proteus); Akousilaos states that they are children of Kadmillos who is in turn son of Hephaistos and Kabeiro (2F20); Herodotos (3.37) also agrees that they are children of Hephaistos; Strabo identifies them with the Korybantes (children of Zeus and Kalliope).

¹¹⁶IvP. no. 324, ll. 17-19; dated ca. 166 AD.

inscriptions and dedications bear testimony to their worship in the city.¹¹⁷ Strabo (10.3.19) states that, according to some (no names given), the Kabeiroi were the same as the Korybantes, the followers of Rhea/Kybele. Finally, it has been suggested that the apsidal structure under the altar's foundation was originally a temple of the Kabeiroi.¹¹⁸ The interest of the Attalid kings in the cult of the Kabeiroi is also attested by an inscription naming the *theoroi* (festival envoys) sent by Attalos I (241-197 BC) to attend the sacred mysteries of the Great Gods (Kabeiroi) at Samothrake.¹¹⁹

Finally, a coin of Septimius Severus depicted on its reverse the altar proper (the sacrificial altar in the interior court) with a pair of humped bulls standing on two large pedestals in front of it (Fig. 7).¹²⁰ What is interesting about this coin, other than the representation of bulls, is that on either side of the sacrificial altar, are two pairs of statues of unidentified deities surmounting the adjoining colonnades. The group on the right consists of two males one of which is holding a spear, while the other group consists of a male and an armour-clad female deity. If the assumption that the altar stood above an earlier temple/shrine of the Kabeiroi is correct, then it is quite likely that the group on the left depicted Zeus and Athena (the deities to whom the altar was currently sacred), that on the right the Kabeiroi (the deities originally worshipped on the site).

In light of this evidence it is not unlikely that the artist would choose to depict the Kabeiroi in the group of Rhea/Kybele (mother of Zeus and mistress of the Kabeiroi) and Adrasteia (Zeus' nurse; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 1.1-2). In their iconography they are usually depicted holding spears, axes or hammers.¹²¹ On the Pergamene frieze, the god in panel 17 is holding a spear while the god in panel 15 is holding an axe or hammer. The closeness of the group indicates their familial bond. The Kabeiros in panel 17 should not be regarded as being in a precarious situation. He has already fatally wounded his bull-headed opponent, the force of his attack reducing the creature to its knees. His brother attacks the bull from behind, thus helping to finish it off. The bovine character of the giant probably made a strong allusion to the favourite sacrificial animal of the two gods. As they received a bull as their sacrifice during the Kabeiria, so they are depicted fighting one on the frieze.¹²²

¹¹⁷In palace group V (on the acropolis) a small altar was found with the dedication "To the Korybantes"; IvP no.68, dated in the reign of Eumenes II (ca. 197-156 BC). Another inscription (IvP no.332) was dedicated "To the Great Gods, the Kabeiroi"; dated in the Roman period, recovered from the Trajaneum. See also IvP no. 252 (dated ca. 133 BC or soon after) and *OGIS* no. 764 ll. 6-9 (dated ca. 127-126 BC); both inscriptions were dedicated to gymnasiarchs (Metrodoros and Diodoros respectively) honouring them for their services amongst which was the facilitation of the cult and mysteries of the Kabeiroi. For more evidence on the cult of the Kabeiroi in Pergamon see Hansen, 395-399.

¹¹⁸See Chapter 1 p.4, n.15.

¹¹⁹*IG* XII.8 no. 170 ll.79-80; S.G. Cole, *Theoi Megaloi: the cult of the great gods at Samothrake* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984) 36, n.298.

¹²⁰See Chapter 1 p. 7, n. 32.

¹²¹Cook I (1914) 108-110.

¹²²Even though there is no evidence of a Kabeirion in Pergamon the Kabeiroi have been associated elsewhere with bull sacrifices; on the cult practices of the Kabeiroi see Cole (1984); E. Hartmut, *Samothrake: Heiligtümer in ihrer Landschaft und Geschichte als Zeugen antiken Geisteslebens* (Stuttgart 1985). An inscription from Pergamon dated in the 1st century AD attests to a *taurobolion* (place of bull sacrifice); IvP no. 554 ll. 7-11.

The frieze's program

After a close examination of the frieze and the figures depicted on each side it becomes apparent that the "Hesiodic theory" of arrangement (by family groups) is pretty much a coincidence, that it does not work all the time. The designer of the frieze did not follow a strict arrangement according to family groups. Instead it seems that he followed an arrangement by spheres of influence. He probably intended to depict the attack of the lawless giants against the gods as a whole. As Pfanner noticed, the figure of Zeus was not depicted in the centre of the east frieze.¹²³ The ancient viewer, upon entering the altar's precinct, would not view the frieze as depicting Zeus' battle against the earth-borns but rather as their attack upon the cosmos as a whole.

Pfanner, however, did not see an arrangement according to clearly defined dominions; rather he understood the frieze as a geographical arrangement that could only be understood by a viewer with a thorough knowledge of the myth.¹²⁴ His correlations, however, are too complicated and in places dubious as Stewart has demonstrated.¹²⁵

It may be possible that the frieze's designer had a less complicated plan in mind: an arrangement according to sphere of influence. The SW wing depicted Dionysos, the divine ancestor of the Attalids, accompanied by his entourage (nymphs, satyrs, Semele). As a half-mortal, Dionysos has to go through a series of adventures to be accepted by the Olympians as an equal.¹²⁶ Consequently he does not belong on the east frieze. By assigning to him an entire side the Attalids emphasize his role in the battle and consequently their role in the battles against barbarians (see Chapter 5, Part B).

The change from Dionysos' side to the side of the Titans is achieved by the opposing movement of Semele and Rhea-Kybele.¹²⁷ Rhea-Kybele is also the perfect transitional link not only as an Asian deity but also for the importance of her cult in Pergamon (sanctuary at Mamurt-Kaleh). Consequently the south side begins with a Titaness (Mother of All) and continues depicting deities of Sky and light. The theme carries through to the east side where the change is achieved by the figure of Hekate who forms the transitional link. According to Hesiod's *Theogony* (ll. 410-413) she is daughter of Asteria (sister of Leto) and consequently a cousin of Apollo and Artemis who are depicted following her. She has her back turned to them to mark the transition. As the goddess of cross-roads and honoured by Zeus in possessing a third of the Sky, Earth and Sea, she seems the most appropriate figure to form the transition. She was half-Titan and yet despite the honours not quite an Olympian.

The east side depicts the Olympians by birth; Zeus, his sisters and his divine offspring. In their struggle they are aided by Herakles, as the literary sources since Pindar testify. The Olympians continue on the north side with Aphrodite and her mother Dione forming the transitional link between the Olympians and the deities of Underworld on the

¹²³Pfanner 56.

¹²⁴Pfanner 57.

¹²⁵Stewart (1993) 157; see above p. 58.

¹²⁶Diod. Sic. 4.15 (60-30 BC).

¹²⁷See below *space and movement* pp. 93-94.

north. Persephone, the queen of the dead accompanied by her husband and surrounded by deities of retribution and chthonic powers occupies that side. Finally, Poseidon at the end of the north frieze begins the side of the deities of water. The transition was achieved by Keto, a deity of water who gave birth to deities of darker nature.

3. The iconographic tradition of the myth

The Gigantomachy myth has a long history both in the art and in the literature of ancient Greece. Its popularity, especially in art, has resulted in a number of detailed studies. The earliest and most comprehensive were by Vian.¹²⁸ Although now outdated, they still provide the best references to depictions of the battle in the Greek and Roman period in all media. A more recent study is that of Schefold who looked at the myth not only in its Archaic but also in its Classical and Hellenistic context.¹²⁹ The most detailed recent account of the myth in the Archaic period is that of Carpenter.¹³⁰ There have also been studies on particular aspects of the battle by Moore, Carter and Arafat.¹³¹ *LIMC* includes only brief studies of individual gods in the scene and should in no way be considered as comprehensive.¹³²

For the purpose of the current study it is not important to dwell upon the myth's development nor the reasons that brought about the various changes in Greek art and literature. However, it is essential to present those aspects (iconographic and literary) of the myth which may have some bearing on the interpretation or understanding of the Pergamene frieze.

The earliest certain iconographic references to the battle seem to be two Attic black-figure vases dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BC.¹³³ They both depict combats on foot and bear inscriptional evidence naming the gods and giants involved. The giants are dressed as Greek *hoplitai* and are completely human in form. In sculpture the first reference to the Gigantomachy myth comes from the north frieze of the Siphnian

¹²⁸Vian (1951); idem (1952).

¹²⁹K. Schefold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art*, tr. from German A. Griffiths (1978; Cambridge: University Press, 1992) 55-67; (1981) 91-116.

¹³⁰T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (Oxford, 1986).

¹³¹M.B. Moore, *Greek vases in the Jean-Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1985) 21-40.; J.C. Carter, *The Sculpture of the sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene* (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1983) esp. 83-95; K.W. Arafat, *Classical Zeus: A study in art and literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 9-29, 183-187.

¹³²*LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes. The importance and symbolic interpretation of the myth will be discussed in Chapter 5 pp. 170-172.

¹³³Column amphora, from Caere, Paris Louvre E 732 (*LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes nos. 170); Reconstruction of a fragment of a dinos by the painter Kyllenios, Malibu Jean-Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.211, after M.B. Moore, "Giants at the Getty" *Greek Vases at the J. Paul Getty Museum* (California: The J.P. Getty Museum 1985) Ill. 1 (Fig. 38). These black figure vases were all dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis shortly after the Panathenaic games were reorganised in 566 BC, and it is argued that their subject was strongly influenced by the Gigantomachy on Athena's peplos; Moore 21-40, esp. 21 n.4. The earliest uncertain reference to the battle is considered to be the fragment of a non-Attic black-figure from the Heraion at Samos depicting what seems to be a combat between a warrior and Zeus (?); dated ca. 8th century BC in the Samos Museum (K 1150; *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes no.95).

Treasury at Delphi.¹³⁴ The figures of the gods and giants are identified by inscriptional evidence as on the Pergamene altar. The iconographic tradition drew its inspiration from the literary one; references to the battle were already present in Homer's *Odyssey*.¹³⁵

A change in the iconography of the giants occurred, during the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th century BC.¹³⁶ Alongside bearded and naked giants fighting as *hoplitai* with conventional weapons, giants with long beards, wearing animal-skins and fighting with rocks are depicted. According to Vian, the co-existence of both types should be interpreted as the artists' interest in depicting the giants' dual nature: warriors, dressed as hoplites, but also primitive savages who, like Centaurs, are wearing hides and carrying rocks; divine by birth (dressed as *hoplitai*) but also savage and barbaric in nature (hides and rocks).¹³⁷

The best known examples of the savage-type come from a group of Athenian red-figure vases dated to the end of the third quarter of the 5th century BC.¹³⁸ As the scenes on these vases form part of larger compositions (more battling groups) it has been argued that they were influenced by the painted Gigantomachy on the inside of the Parthenos shield.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ LIMC IV s.v. Gigantes no.2. (Fig. 30).

¹³⁵ Homer *Od.* 7.58-59; 11.315-316 (8th century BC); Hesiod *Th.* 184-187, description of giants dressed as *hoplitai*. Carpenter questioned whether the assault of the two brothers refers to an earlier attack or to the proper Gigantomachy battle, arguing that the earliest specific references to the battle appear in Pindar's odes (*P.* 8.12-18 written in 446 BC; *N.* 1.67-72 written in 476 BC); Carpenter 59-60, he omits *I.* 6.32-5 written in 480 BC. Carpenter, however, overlooked Homer's statement (7.58-59) referring to the destruction of the insolent giants and their king (Eurymedon). According to Schefold and Simon it may be deduced from Hesiod's account (*Th.* 1. 50) that an epic poem about the giants had already been in existence by the 7th century BC; Schefold (1992) 55-56; Simon 5 n.29, 20 n.101, 42 n.198; see also Scholia on Ap. Rhod. 1.559. Xenophanes, in a poem describing how a symposium should be conducted, makes an explicit reference to the battles of the gods against the Titans (Titanomachy) and the giants (Gigantomachy) as a topic to be avoided; West *IEG*² fr.1.21 (dated to ca. 480-470 BC), quoted by Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* 462c. In Pindar's *Nemean* ode (1.67-72; 476 BC) we find the first reference to Phlegra as the site of the battle and to Herakles' participation on the side of the gods, for which he received Hebe, Zeus' daughter, as his wife. The earliest surviving detailed literary account of the battle is found in Apollodoros' *Bibliothēke* (1.6.1-2) dated possibly in the early 2nd century AD; the other two detailed accounts are much later, Claudian's *Gigantomachia* (Shorter poems 52; dated ca. 4th century AD) and Nonnos' *Dionysiaca* (48.1-86; dated ca. 4th/5th century AD). Apollodoros also mentions that the place of the giants' origin is debated, some claiming it to be Phlegra and some Pallene. According to Herodotos (7.123), Phlegra was the old name of Pallene but Apollodoros speaks of them as two separate places. The first ancient reference to the place of the battle being other than Phlegra in Macedonia comes from a fragment of Timaios (Jacoby *FGH* 566 F89; 356-260 BC) who was quoted by Diodorus Siculus (*Lib.* 4.21; 60-30 AD). Timaios claims that Herakles went to Phlegra in the Cumaeian plain (Campania) and joined the gods in battle against the giants. Most of the ancient sources however agree that the battle took place at the Macedonian Phlegra; see Carpenter 59-60.

¹³⁶ e.g. Relief on Bronze, in the Olympia Museum, dated ca. 525-500 BC: Athena is attacking a naked and bearded giant who is holding a rock. Decorated frieze on a gold plated rhyton, from the funerary complex of Adygei at Kouban in Russia, dated ca. 470-450 BC: Hera is attacking a naked giant with a very long beard and a lion-skin; the rest of the giants are naked with very long beards, wearing helmets and holding shields and swords. LIMC IV s.v. Gigantes nos. 34, 34^{bis}.

¹³⁷ LIMC IV s.v. Gigantes commentary by Vian 251-252.

¹³⁸ Cf. e.g. Calyx crater in Naples National Museum 2045 (H 2883), from Ruvo, near the Pronomos painter, dated ca. 430-420 BC (Fig. 39.1; LIMC IV s.v. Gigantes no. 316); Fig. 31 (see above n. 25). For more references see also nos. 321, 319, 320.

¹³⁹ A. von Salis, "Die Gigantomachie am Schilde der Athena Parthenos", *Jdl* 55 (1940) 90-169, figs.1-36, pls. I-II; Vian (1952) 149-165, fig. 7 (a reconstruction of the shield Fig. 39.2); H. Walter, "Gigantomachien" *AM* 69-70 (1954) 95-104; N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos: A reconstruction* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1971) 46-50.

According to the ancient sources a Gigantomachy with Zeus and Athena as the main protagonists was woven on the Panathenaic *peplos* and also painted in the interior of the Athena Parthenos shield (ca. 438 BC).¹⁴⁰ The Strangford shield is the only copy of the Parthenos shield where traces of the painted Gigantomachy have survived.¹⁴¹ Comparing the faint remains on the Strangford shield to the evidence from the red-figure vases it became apparent that the Attic crater from Ruvo (Fig. 39) is closest to the original.¹⁴² The giants are depicted inside a dome (dome of heaven) climbing the rocky sides of Olympos. Some of them wear leopard-skins and fight with huge rocks; others wear shields and helmets and fight with weapons. An interesting detail comes from the shield of the giant on the left (inside the dome) the inside of which is decorated with a painted Gigantomachy resembling the one on the crater. The gods are depicted warding off the assailants. The scene is enclosed by Helios in his chariot, rising from the right, while his counterpart Selene, riding her mule, is setting on the left. Comparing these scenes to the contemporary reference from Aristophanes' play, the *Birds*, it is evident that by the end of the 5th century BC the giants were well on the way to being reduced to the level of such beasts as the Centaurs.¹⁴³

The savage-type of giant continued to be used, sometimes alongside the old hoplite-type, throughout the 4th century BC when another change in the iconography took place. Instead of having human legs the giants now began to be depicted with the lower parts of serpents. The earliest iconographic evidence in Greek art is a south Italian red-figure vase dated around the first quarter of the 4th century BC.¹⁴⁴ The next iconographic evidence of an anguipede giant comes from a south Italian bronze mirror dated in the late 4th or early 3rd century BC (Fig. 40).¹⁴⁵ It depicted Athena attacking a young, beardless and serpent-

¹⁴⁰ e.g.: Euripides, *Hekabe* ll. 466-474 (dated to ca. 425 BC; Euripides uses twice the term Titans to designate the giants on the peplos); *Iphigeneia Tauris* ll. 222-224 (dated shortly before 412 BC); Aristophanes, *Birds* ll. 823-831 (414 BC); Epicharmos (*PKölner* III 126; first quarter of the 5th century BC) reports that the battle between Athena and Pallas took place in the Titanomachy instead of the Gigantomachy; on an Apulian red-figure crater (New York MMA 1919.192.81.6, 13, 17), near the Lykourgos Painter, dated to ca. 350 BC, depicting the Gigantomachy, the Titan Hyperion is presented as a giant adversary of Zeus (*LIMC* s.v. Gigantes no. 393). For more references see also *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes no.32. On the painted Gigantomachy in the interior of the Parthenos shield see Pliny, *NH* 35.54; 36.18. A Gigantomachy was also sculpted on the east metopes of the Parthenon (see below p. 90).

¹⁴¹ *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes no.43

¹⁴² See above n. 138.

¹⁴³ The reference in Aristophanes' play (*Birds* ll. 1248-151; 414 BC) is the earliest surviving literary evidence of the change in the iconography of the giants; Peisthetairos threatens to attack Olympos with 600 Porphyrions clad in leopard-skins as the giant (Porphyrion) had done before him (Gigantomachy).

¹⁴⁴ Squat Lekythos, in Berlin Staatliche Museum V.I. 3376, Apulian; *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes no. 389, 253. It has been suggested that some 6th century BC Corinthian and Etruscan vases showing the battle of Zeus and Typhon are representations of the Gigantomachy, and that because Typhon is anguipede we can state that the archaic period already knew anguipede giants; *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes commentary by Vian 253-254. However, whether Zeus' single combat with Typhon, known already from Hesiod, had become part of the Gigantomachy in the archaic period is precisely the point under contention. There is no archaic depiction of Zeus fighting Typhon along with other giants. So sound method requires us to keep the battle with Typhon and its iconography separate. That Typhon is anguipede tells us nothing about the iconography of the giants.

¹⁴⁵ Fig. 40: Fragment of an embossed mirror case, in the gallery of bronzes in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome (No. 679). A.H. Smith, "Athena and Enkelados", *JHS* 4 (1883) 90-95. D.B. Thompson ("Mater Caelaturae" *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 298) dated the mirror in the late 4th century BC, but Vian (1951, 93 no.429) dated it in the early 3rd century BC.

legged giant who has been identified as Enkelados, her usual adversary. What is even more important about this mirror is that the giant is winged. If not earlier, it is at least contemporary with the metopes from the temple of Athena at Ilion which depicted a Gigantomachy dated to the early 3rd century BC.¹⁴⁶ These two cases are in all probability the earliest examples in Greek art depicting a winged and anguipede giant prior to the Pergamene frieze.¹⁴⁷ After the Pergamene altar the anguipede type predominated in art and the human type gradually disappeared.¹⁴⁸

4. Current literature on the style of the frieze¹⁴⁹

Ever since the day of its discovery, the Gigantomachy frieze has been at the centre of academic interest. In a telegram to the Berlin Museum in 1880 K. Humann described the sculptures as "the greatest work remaining to us from antiquity".¹⁵⁰ Its style has been exhaustively studied and analysed and so one more study of the Gigantomachy's style runs the risk of being repetitive.¹⁵¹ However, in order to understand and fully appreciate the monument it is important to summarise briefly the most important features of its style.

The Pergamene Gigantomachy is distinguished from all previous Gigantomachies in being the most elaborate and rich composition. As has been noted (section 3), there had been earlier attempts at such a composition (e.g. Siphnian Treasury, 4th century BC red-figure vases, interior of the Parthenos shield) but our frieze is the earliest surviving example on this scale. Owing to the length of the frieze (120m), the designer had to employ all sorts of devices to avoid monotonous repetition.

A variety of animals (lions, dogs, eagles, horses, fish and sea-horses) were introduced fighting alongside the gods. As on the earlier 4th century BC Athenian vases, some of the giants were depicted either as completely human carrying shields and fighting

¹⁴⁶B.M. Holden, *The metopes of the temple of Athena at Ilion* (Massachusetts: Smith College Northampton, 1964) 21-23, 29-31; *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes no.22. On the influence of the Ilion metopes on the frieze see below pp. 89-90. At about the same time Naevius (*Bellum Poenicum* fr. 44-46, dated ca. 235-204 BC) when describing the giants on the boat of Aineias refers to them as two-bodied creatures. It seems that by the term two-bodied creatures Naevius could only have referred to the anguipede type, in neither the literary sources nor the iconographic evidence were the giants ever depicted other than fully anthropomorphic or serpent-legged. Apollodoros (early 2nd century AD) too calls the giants anguipede; described as having "long locks of hair dropping from their forehead and chin and having snakes for legs" (*Bibl.* 1.6.1-2).

¹⁴⁷The coffers from the peristyle ceiling of the sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene depict anguipede and winged giants together but are dated ca. 158 BC and have been considered later than the Pergamon frieze. In terms of style and iconography it is argued that the Priene coffers quoted the Siphnian treasury rather than the Pergamene altar. *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes no.26; Carter 90-95.

¹⁴⁸*LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes, commentary by Vian, 252-254.

¹⁴⁹For the use of the different elements of style as viewing techniques see Chapter 5 Part A, *Gigantomachy frieze*.

¹⁵⁰Bieber 113.

¹⁵¹Some of the most important studies on the style of the frieze other than the ones presented below are: von Salis (*Der Altar* 1912); Kähler (*Der grosse Fries* 1948); G. Bruns, *Der grosse Altar von Pergamon* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1949); A. Schober, *Die Kunst von Pergamon* (Vienna: Margaret Friedrich Rohrer Verlag, 1951); E.M. Schmidt, *The Great Altar of Pergamon* (London: Peter Owen, 1965). For a comprehensive list of studies on the style of the frieze see Hansen, xxxii-xxxiii. On the different theories on the sculptor/s of the frieze and their style see Chapter 1, pp. 12-14. This section deals mainly with the features of the frieze rather than the differences in the execution.

with conventional weapons, or with serpent legs fighting with rocks.¹⁵² Others had wings growing on their backs or fish-scales and fins on their thighs. Meanwhile, the Pergamene artist's contribution to the giants' iconography is particularly seen in three cases on the south frieze: one had a bull's head (Cat. no. 7, panel 16); another a lion's head (Cat. no. 11, panel 29-30); and another was equipped with wings that consisted of feathers and fins (Cat. no. 12, panel 34). The face of each individual giant presents a study of human emotions, ranging from fear to pain and anger. For inspiration the designer resorted not only to earlier iconographic material (for poses and motifs) but also to contemporary fashion in footwear, costumes and hair styles.

Drapery

Perhaps the most powerful feature of the frieze is the continuous movement of the figures and the treatment of the drapery.¹⁵³ Every single figure on the frieze is depicted striding, jumping, attacking or retreating. No single figure is represented standing still. The artist has captured, like in a "snap-shot", the ardour of the battle. Overlapping figures, animals running, spread wings, and feet that just about touch the ground create the effect of intense excitement and movement. It is, however, the drapery that carries this movement through the entire frieze.

Executed in high relief it acquires a body of its own. This treatment of the drapery is particularly seen in the garments of the female deities. Figures engaged in fierce combat are dressed in chitons characterised by deep, sweeping grooves and mantles that create formidable S-curves above their heads and around their bodies: Cat. nos. 4, 6, 7, 13 (Asteria), 16, 20.2. Where there is no mantle to create this swirling, wind-blown effect the artist has employed massive folds that move against the movement of the body: Cat. nos. 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 (Phoibe), 14, 15, 26, 27, 30. Pollitt argues that this treatment gave to the drapery an "anti-anatomical" character.¹⁵⁴

However, this description cannot be applied to all cases on the frieze. For example, the drapery of Athena, Dione, Keto, Amphitrite and Doris (Cat. nos. 21, 24, 28, 31 respectively) is different. Their chitons, though carved in very high relief, complement rather than contrast with the figure's movement. The folds seem to be in accordance with the body's movement.

Different degrees of chisel work were also employed to indicate variety of material on some of the chitons of the gods. Three excellent examples are the cases of Eos, Selene and Aphrodite (Cat. nos. 8, 10 and 23 respectively). A closer look at the chitons of Eos and Selene reveals a very fine line of chisel work that reaches to the bottom of their drapery. This treatment is not applied in the execution of the robes of other female deities.

¹⁵²See also Chapter 5 pp. 144-147.

¹⁵³Schuchhardt (*Die Meister* 1925), was the first to make a detailed study of the drapery. His study however is directly related to the question of how many sculptors worked on the frieze. He denied the existence of a single style and assumed that the frieze contained a number of independent individual styles. See Chapter 1 p. 12.

¹⁵⁴Pollitt 104.

That the robes of Eos and Selene were executed differently is also evident in their mantles which have been treated like the drapery of the other female deities. The impression created by this fine chisel work is that of a "chiffon-type" of a garment contrary to the "cotton-type" of the other deities. This ethereal type of garment seems quite appropriate for such celestial deities. With Aphrodite a different kind of effect was intended. Her chiton was treated in such a way that it seemed almost transparent. The difference becomes immediately apparent when comparing it to the robe of her mother Dione who is depicted almost next to her (panel 74). Aphrodite's chiton lacks the massiveness and the thickness of the folds that cover all parts of Dione's body. Instead it clings against Aphrodite's body fully revealing her sensual curves. Indeed, such treatment is more than appropriate for the robe of the goddess of sensual love.

A wetter effect was introduced for the garments of the water deities of the n/w wing. Their draperies lack the massive folds of the robes of other deities but they do not have the silken transparency of Aphrodite's chiton. Instead they have the effect of a wet garment where the weight of the folds clings heavily to the body without outlining it.

That various degrees of chisel work were applied to indicate different materials is further attested by comparing Zeus' robe to the robes of other male deities. Zeus is enveloped in a glorious chiton. The richness of the material is revealed not only in the plethora of folds but also in the manner of execution. The deeply cut grooves create the impression of masses of cloth which fall generously over the god's arms and thighs. The effect created is of a rich, regal garment, fit to be worn by the king of all immortals.

In retrospect, it could be argued that Pergamene drapery incorporates both classical and hellenistic traits. Carpenter, in his analysis of Greek drapery distinguished three phases of evolution: the archaic "pictorial style", the classical, and the hellenistic "free emotive" style.¹⁵⁵ The drapery of the deities engaged in fierce combat (e.g. Asteria) is characterised by the same swirling curves in the drapery of the figures on the west and south frieze of the Athena Nike temple and particularly the Phigaleian friezes.¹⁵⁶ On the Pergamene frieze, however, the drapery does not complement the movement of the figure. On the contrary, it opposes it in order to create the "anti-anatomical" effect described by Pollitt, or the so-called "free-emotive" hellenistic style.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, the drapery of the figures in the group of Athena is characterised by a classical treatment reminiscent of the drapery of the Parthenon figures.¹⁵⁸ Although the body's movement creates a flowing

¹⁵⁵R. Carpenter, *Greek Art: A study of the formal evolution of style* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962) 97-109 (archaic), 139-162 (classical), 211-213 (hellenistic).

¹⁵⁶For the west (battle between Greeks) and south frieze (Marathon ?) of the Athena Nike temple (dated in the late 420s, some in situ and some in the British Museum) see Boardman CS figs. 127.2, 127.4, 128. For the Phigaleian friezes (Centauromachy and Amazonomachy, dated ca. 427-421 BC, in the British Museum) see J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Late Classical period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995) figs. 5.1-5.5.

¹⁵⁷For Pollitt see above p. 79 n. 154; Carpenter (1962) 211-212. A good example of the "free emotive" style is the Nike of Samothrake, dated ca. 3rd century BC, in the Louvre (MA 2369); Carpenter (1962) 211; Smith (1991) fig.97.

¹⁵⁸Cf. e.g. The drapery of the figure of Artemis (?) from the east pediment, dated ca. 438-432 BC, in the British Museum in London; Stewart (1990) pl. 349. See also, the flowing drapery of the horsemen from the

effect on the drapery, the latter's form "follows" the figure rather than contradicts it. Finally, the transparent and clingy draperies of the figures of Aphrodite, Selene, and Eos recall the wet effect of such classical sculptures as the Nereid (?) akroterion figure from the Hephaisteion.¹⁵⁹ According to Carpenter, this illusionary device aimed at perceiving the body and drapery as one single entity, so that "to see one was to apprehend the other".¹⁶⁰

Emotional expression

One of the most interesting features of the frieze is the variety of facial expressions, particularly those of the giants. Farnell was the first to distinguish three categories of facial expressions used to indicate a state of being.¹⁶¹ The frowning forehead, the deep set eyes and the wide open mouths are usually the characteristic features of suffering giants or giants engaged in fierce combat: Cat. nos. 7.2, 11 (panel 30), 14 (panel 39), 15.2, 16 (panel 45), 17 (panel 48), 21 (panel 63), 23 (panel 17), 24.2, 25 (panel 81), 27 (panel 89), 30 (Triton's opponent), 31 (panel 106). On the other hand, the more subdued feeling of defeat is expressed in the features of dying giants: Cat. nos. 12.2, 17, 23.2, 27 (panel 90). Their state of being does not allow them to express any kind of emotion other than sorrow. Their eyes are firmly shut, their mouth is half open and on the foreheads there is just the hint of sorrow. Finally, the third type is reserved for more self-controlled giants: Cat. nos. 10, 15.4, 20 (panel 61). Their faces are characterised by concentration and concern but without the passionate quality of the first group or the defeated nature of the second. Farnell suggested that the reason for this emotional release is the primitive nature of these earth-born creatures.

Farnell did not, however, point out that this kind of intensity, as opposed to realistic depiction of specific emotions and psychological comprehension, is something that was created as early as the end of the 6th century BC.¹⁶²

Finally, what seems to emphasize the effect of their facial expressions is the way their faces have been treated. Farnell could not help but notice that the giants of the Pergamene frieze strongly resembled the giants described by Apollodoros in his account of the battle (*Bibl.* 1.6.1-2): καθειμένοι βαθείαν κόμην ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενείων ...¹⁶³ The long wavy locks of hair falling across their foreheads and cheeks, the bushy beards and

Parthenon frieze, or the treatment of the mantle on the figures of the Niobid frieze (Roman copy of an original, dated ca. 430-420 BC, from Villa Albani in Rome, nr. 885); Stewart pls. 329, 331, 375; Carpenter (1962) 153.

¹⁵⁹From Athens, Agora S182, dated ca. 420/1 BC; Boardman CS 146, fig. 116. See also e.g. the Nikai from the Athena Nike balustrade, dated ca. late 420s (Boardman figs.130.2, 4); the Paionios Nike, from Olympia, dated ca. 420 BC (Stewart pl.408); or the late classical examples of the acanthus column from Delphi, dated ca. 330 BC or the Nereid (London 909) from the Nereid monument from Xanthos, in the British Museum, dated ca. 400-380 BC (Boardman LCS figs. 15, 218.5 respectively). See also the wounded Amazons (Sosikles and "Mattei" type), Roman copies from Rome, in the Capitoline Museum (nrs. 651, 733 respectively) originals dated ca. 430 BC, for the "chiffon-type" of treatment of Eos' and Selene's drapery; Stewart (1990) pls. 388-389.

¹⁶⁰Carpenter (1962) 152.

¹⁶¹L.R. Farnell, "The Pergamene frieze: Its relation to literature and tradition" *JHS* 3 (1882) 335-336.

¹⁶²See below pp. 92-93.

¹⁶³Farnell (1882) 335.

moustaches and the thick eyebrows executed with rough chisel work assign to them an animal-like nature. Even the younger, beardless giants are characterised by this animal-like nature simply by the appearance of their hair; the long thick curls are twisting and turning across their foreheads and in the background like the snakes on their feet. This feeling of messiness is an indication of barbarism that is strongly emphasised when compared with the well-groomed heads of the gods and goddesses. Hence any kind of emotion expressed on these faces becomes more intense and distorted.¹⁶⁴

On the other hand, the faces of the gods and goddesses are characterised by an aloof serenity and calmness that contrasts with the action of the battle. Despite the richness of emotional expression employed for the giants, the Pergamene artist has chosen to remain true to the traditional way of depicting Greek gods as devoid of any hint of emotions or concern. The soft and delicate treatment of their faces (e.g. Artemis, Selene, Theia, central goddess on the north frieze) remind us of the gods on the Parthenon frieze. Some scholars saw this resemblance as the deliberate and conscious Pergamene effort to equate the altar and its significance with the Parthenon.¹⁶⁵

However, there are two heads on the frieze that deviate from the rule: the face of Nereus and of the winged god on the east frieze (Cat. no. 31.2, 11.3 respectively). The deep furrows on Nereus' forehead, his frowning eyebrows and his half-open mouth show concern and concentration. He is looking at the battling group of his wife Doris with serpent-legged giant. Even though the goddess seems to be well in control of the fight, Nereus' face bears the traces of the concerned partner. The winged god on the south frieze is himself involved in a battling group; he is about to strike his opponent. The concentration and tension of the moment is evident in his frowning eyebrows.

The emotional expression on the faces of these two gods is not nearly as pronounced as those on the faces of the giants. Their feelings are not of fear, anger, awe or even pain; for such feelings were considered appropriate only for uncivilised barbarians (e.g. Gauls, giants, Amazons and Centaurs).¹⁶⁶ This characteristic feature of the frieze was noted by Pollitt who argued that display of emotion was allowed on the faces of gods whose home was closer to earth and farther from Olympos.¹⁶⁷

This argument, however, can apply to Nereus and Keto but it does not apply to the winged god from the south frieze. He belongs to the side of the deities of sky and light and, as a winged figure, his home is closer to Olympos rather than earth. Consequently one could argue that such a display of emotion was perhaps allowed for the gods of the previous generation. Both Nereus and the winged god belonged to an earlier generation of gods whose character was closely associated with nature rather than the civilised *polis*. It was probably in their nature to appear eerie and uncanny. The Olympians were the more

¹⁶⁴See below p. 92 n. 219.

¹⁶⁵Stewart (1990) 212; Smith 161-162; Pollitt 105.

¹⁶⁶See also Chapter 5, pp. 170, 174-175.

¹⁶⁷Pollitt (105), has noticed the emotion displayed on the face of Nereus and seems to see a similar expression on the face of the lion-goddess identified as Keto (north frieze). He does not mention anything about the winged god from the south frieze.

civilised group of gods. They were responsible for the order of anything associated with humanity and the *polis*. On the other hand the deities of the south, n/w wing and the west side were deities of nature and cosmic order.

Treatment of the body

As in the case of the drapery, great care was employed in the treatment of the body. The female deities can be divided into two groups: the Amazon-like figures and the voluptuous ones. Female deities like Nymphs, Hekate, Artemis, Athena, the winged figure on the north frieze, the Moirai and the figure in panel 87 (Cat. no. 2, 14, 15, 21, 25, 27 respectively) have more athletic bodies than the others. They are slimmer, with tight and firm bodies devoid of any plumpness or sensuality. By nature they are goddesses who get involved with hunting and war or are associated with things other than female sensuality or fertility. On the other hand the rest of the female deities who were associated with nature, were matronly figures, or were known for their promiscuity have been depicted with more feminine qualities. Their bodies are rendered feminine and sensual with rounded contours, Venus-rings on their soft and delicate necks, or even deliberate bareness of a shoulder.

The bodies of the gods are depicted as strong and heroic. However, it is possible to distinguish two groups: the younger and more athletic gods and the mature but stronger ones. To the second group belong the bodies of those involved in fierce struggle and also the bodies of such kingly figures as Zeus and Okeanos. Physical tension and effort are revealed in the exaggerated muscles of their abdomen or back. The fiercer the combat, the more heavily pronounced the muscles on their bodies. Perfect examples of this treatment are the bodies of the two gods in the tauromorphic-group on the south frieze (Cat. no. 7, panels 15, 17), Zeus (Cat. no. 20.2), the god in panel 83 (Cat. no. 26), Triton (Cat. no. 30), and Okeanos (Cat. no. 31). The rest of the male gods are depicted with less pronounced musculature but they are nonetheless heroic. The body of Nereus in Cat. no.31 (panel 105) forms an exception to the above distinction. Known from Hesiod's *Theogony* (l. 234) as the Old Man of the sea, he is depicted on the frieze with the body of an elder king. The god's body, just like his expressive face, does not have the strong and athletic qualities of the other deities. In comparison to the body of Okeanos (panel 107) he seems weaker with the slight hint of a protruding belly. He stands upright and firm but his body does not have the athletic or exaggerated musculature of other male deities. Instead he is represented as quite aged and gentle. A possible explanation for the different treatment of Nereus' body could be the fact that he was one of the first gods, son of the Sea, and in Hesiod's *Theogony* (ll. 233-236) he is described as "unerring and mild, remembering what is right and his mind is gentle and just". He is an outsider, only present in myth with no role in civic life. He is the only god who does not participate in the battle but rather watches his wife struggling with one of the giant's.

The bodies of the giants, however, do not seem to follow a similar type of distinction (i.e.: young and athletic or mature and powerful). It is possible however to

distinguish three general groups of body treatment. One group is characterised by heavily pronounced musculature around the rib-cage, back and limbs: Cat. nos. 7, 11, 12 (winged figure), 14 (panel 39), 16 (panel 45), 20 (panel 61), 21 (panel 63), and 25 (panel 81). There is no apparent reason why these figures should be depicted with more pronounced musculature than the others. Some of them do belong to the more bestial type (i.e.: bull and lion headed giants) and may therefore be more likely to have stronger and more robust bodies. There are however a lot of serpent-legged giants who are equally bestial and whose bodies are treated like a lot of the more human type: Cat. nos. 1, 9, 10, 15 (panels 41, 42), 20 (panels 58, 60), 23 (panel 73), 24 (panel 76), 25.2, 27, 28, 30. The bodies of these giants are characterised by a softer treatment of the musculature. They appear strong and powerful but not in an over-pronounced way. Finally, there is a third group that consists of giants whose bodies are treated in an ephebic manner: Cat. nos. 12 (dead figure), 17, 23 (panels 71, 72), 31. In this group seem to belong the younger looking and the dying or dead giants. Their softly modelled bodies recall the bodies of young warriors on 4th century BC grave stelai.¹⁶⁸

However, there does not seem to be a determining factor, such as age, form or even state of being, to account for the different treatment of the bodies. For instance, even though the ephebic treatment of the body is used for dying or dead figures, the dying giants in Cat. nos. 26 and 27 have more pronounced musculature than the dying figure in Cat. no. 17. Equally, the already dead giant in Cat. no. 19 has such strong and pronounced muscles on his arms that he can only be categorised in the first or second group; the dying giant in Cat. no. 17 seems more lifeless than he.¹⁶⁹ Likewise, the young serpent-legged giants in Cat. no. 31, who seem to be of the same age as the giants in Cat. nos. 16, 23 and 26 (panel 83), have the soft and delicate treatment of the third group. This difference in the treatment of the bodies has often been explained as the result of the style of different artists working together.¹⁷⁰

Interest in detail

One of the most interesting features of the frieze that makes it such an astonishing piece of work is the rendering of detail. Despite the enormous length of the frieze, the artists did not hesitate to depict painstakingly details of footwear, helmets, and armour, or to show even differences in the texture of animal fur.

The gods and goddesses on the frieze have been joined by a great variety of animals in their struggle against the giants. There are dogs, lions, eagles, horses, fish and sea-horses. The exquisite detail employed in the execution of the horses is a perfect example

¹⁶⁸Cf. e.g. Grave stele of Chairedimos and Lykeas, from Salamis, end of 5th early 4th century BC, in the Peiraeus Museum; M. Robertson, *A shorter History of Greek art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) fig. 187. See also Boardman *LCS* figs. 120, 124.

¹⁶⁹The dead giant in Cat. no. 25.2 is included in the second group rather than the third because the awkward position of his body. It would be unrealistic not to depict pronounced musculature on his stomach as he rests his entire weight on his shoulders.

¹⁷⁰See Chapter 1 *Sculptor(s)* pp. 12-14.

of the artist's mastery: Cat. nos. 8, 9, 19, 22 and the mule of Selene in Cat. no. 10. Strength and movement have been achieved with the depiction of pounding muscles, swollen veins and folds of skin on the beasts' neck and legs. Particularly interesting are the long manes of Ares' horses (Cat. no. 22). The short curls are playfully moving against the movement of the steeds as the force from the beasts' galloping motion forces them into swirling curves. This kind of detail has its forerunners in the 5th century BC horses of the Parthenon frieze or even on the earlier Siphnian Treasury sculptures.¹⁷¹ Poseidon's chariot (Cat. no. 29) is drawn by hippocamps. The front part of their bodies are equine and the back is composed of fish scales. What is remarkable is that the transition from the equine to the fish part has been smoothly introduced with the use of layers of fins.

The fur of the lions' mane is rendered in deep grooves forming thick and short locks of curls: Cat. nos. 5, 6, 28. The texture of their hide is indicated with very soft chisel work. Different degrees of chisel work have also been employed in the execution of the dogs' fur; in some areas the relief is deeper, in others softer and less agitated (Cat. nos. 13, 14, 42). Likewise different degrees of chisel work have been used to distinguish the strong feathers on the birds' wings from the softer ones on their breasts.

A similar interest in realism can also be seen in the decorative detail on the gods' garments. A series of horizontal lines or shallow grooves can be detected running along the drapery of more than a dozen figures; e.g. Cat. nos. 7 (Adrasteia, panel 14), 26.2 (Persephone, panel 85).¹⁷² Robinson argued that they indicated the edges of stripes or borders that were represented in colour.¹⁷³ His suggestion, however, was refuted by Winnefeld.¹⁷⁴ Brunn thought that they indicated the creases of the folded mantles, while Mitchell suggested that they indicated the seams where the long pieces of cloth were sewn together.¹⁷⁵ Hansen argued against both suggestions, claiming that a large piece of cloth could hardly have been folded or sewn in so many places.¹⁷⁶ Instead, she effectively suggested that the lines would have been painted in gold, thus making a reference to the local textile industry for which the Attalids were famous. According to the ancient sources, the Attalids were famous for their gold-woven clothes, known as *Attalic*.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹See also below p. 92 n. 217.

¹⁷²The grooves are also present on the drapery of Rhea (Cat. no. 6), Eos (Cat. no. 8), Helios (Cat. no. 9), Hekate (Cat. no. 14), Zeus (Cat. no. 20), Athena and Ge (Cat. no. 21), Amphitrite (Cat. no. 30), Nereus and Doris (Cat. no. 31), but not visible in the Catalogue pictures.

¹⁷³E. Robinson, "Did the Greeks paint their sculptures?" *Century Mag.* 21 (1892) 879.

¹⁷⁴Winnefeld 120-121.

¹⁷⁵H. Brunn, "Ueber die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der pergamenischen Gigantomachie" *Jahr.preuss.Kunst.*, 5 (1884) 238; L. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture* (New York, 1888) 532, 587.

¹⁷⁶Hansen 304.

¹⁷⁷Pliny 8.196, 33.63; Propertius 2.13.22; 3.18.19; 4.5.24. However, the practice of weaving gold-threads into clothes was not invented by the Pergamenes but by the Lydians; Lydus *De Mag.* 3.64, p.258; M. Rostovtzeff, "Notes on the Economic policy of the Pergamene kings", in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W.M. Ramsay*, ed. W.H. Buckler, W.M. Calder (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1923) 380-381, 381 n.1.

The Pergamene interest in rendering realism and detail is also evident in the choice of contemporary helmets. Dintsis, in his exhaustive study of Hellenistic helmets, identified three types worn by the giants: the Pseudo-Attic, Pseudo-Korinthian and the *Tiara-type* helmet.¹⁷⁸ The *Pseudo-Attic* type is a development of the *Attic* and is seen on four different occasions: panels 26, 47, 55, 86 (Cat. nos. 10, 17, 19, and 26 respectively). It appears in the first half of the 5th century BC and lasted till the end of the 2nd century BC. The helmets on the frieze lack the highly decorated crest and the hanging cheek-pieces of the original Attic type. They are characterised by a neck-guard at the back of the helmet (lacking on Cat. no. 17) and a frontlet that terminates on either side with a volute above the ear.

The *Pseudo-Korinthian* type is worn by Artemis' opponent in Cat. no. 14 (panel 41). It made its appearance at the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 2nd century BC and lasted till the 1st century BC. It lacks the long pointed visor of the original Korinthian type, which has been reduced here to a frontlet. Above the ear and on either side of the helmet there is a volute decoration similar to that on the Pseudo-Attic helmet. The figure's neck is protected by a neck-guard. The crest is decorated by a long plume of horsehair.

The *Tiara-type* helmet is seen lying on the foreground between the legs of the striding god in Cat. no. 25 (panel 80). This type of helmet is the 2nd century BC developed form of the earlier *Thrakian* or *Phrygian* helmet. In Greek art it was usually worn by barbarians such as Amazons, Trojans and Persians.¹⁷⁹ It is like a close-fitting cap which rises to a forward-pointing peak commonly known as the "Phrygian bonnet".¹⁸⁰ The example on the frieze has no neck-guard, visor or cheek-pieces. Its frontlet is decorated with volutes above the ears and its crest terminates in a griffin. This type of helmet was usually worn by the Macedonian infantry (Fig. 41).¹⁸¹

The astonishing variety of footwear is perhaps the best example where one can see the designer's interest in realism coupled with artistic creativity. Only the gods have footwear. The most recent study on the footwear of the Pergamene frieze is that of Morrow.¹⁸² Her study includes the identification of 18 examples of footwear: 8 sandals and 10 boots.

¹⁷⁸Dintsis, vol.1, 113-133 (Pseudo-Attic) 97-102 (Pseudo-Korinthian), 47-50 (Tiara-type); vol.2 nos. 229, 230, 231, 232 (Pseudo-Attic), no.183 (Pseudo-Korinthian), no.85 (Tiara-type); Tables 9 (Pseudo-Attic), 7 (Pseudo-Korinthian) and 2 (Tiara-type).

¹⁷⁹For bibliographical references on the debated origin of the *Thrakian* helmet see Dintsis, 47-50. For iconographic examples of Amazons and Persians wearing this type of helmet see Boardman *ARFVC* nos. 159, 222, 236 (Amazons), 340 (Persians); Stewart (1990) pl.243 (Trojan archer from the west pediment of Aphaia at Aigina, dated ca. 490-475 BC). See also iconography of Attis, the Phrygian attendant of Rhea/Kybele, wearing this type of Phrygian hat; *LIMC* III (1986; M.J. Vermaseren) s.v. Attis.

¹⁸⁰A.M. Snodgrass, *Arms and armour of the Greeks* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967) 95.

¹⁸¹Fig. 41: Thessalonike Archaeological Museum; R. Ginouvès, *Macedonia: From Philip II to Roman conquest* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994) 78 fig.66. Cf. e.g. the helmet from Philip II's (360-336 BC) tomb at Vergina (dated ca. 336 BC) in the Archaeological Museum in Thessalonike; M.B. Sakellariou, *Macedonia* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1988) fig.82.

¹⁸²K.D. Morrow, *Greek footwear and the dating of sculpture* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

The sandals depicted on the frieze are all variations of the same type, the *krepis*: Cat. nos. 3, 5, 8, 16, 20, 26, 28, 30.¹⁸³ The most recognisable type is the *heptyskloi* with *pellytra* worn by such figures as Semele, Leto, and the goddess identified as Persephone on the north frieze: Cat. nos. 5a, 16, and 26.2.¹⁸⁴ The laces on the better preserved sandals of Persephone and Leto are fastened over the instep by a diamond and a heart-shaped ornament respectively. The *enneyskloi* (= with nine loops) is another variation of the *krepis* similar to the *heptyskloi* worn by such figures as Amphitrite and Keto: Cat. nos. 30 and 28 respectively.¹⁸⁵ Of all the male divinities on the frieze only Zeus is wearing *krepides* (Cat. no.20.2); the type, however, is difficult to identify as the lacing system over the instep is badly damaged.¹⁸⁶

A greater variety in the style and treatment of the footwear is particularly seen on the figures wearing boots: Cat. nos. 2, 4, 13, 14, 15, 23, 25, 26.a, 27, 31. There are two types of boots depicted. Those completely covering the foot and part of the leg (calf-length), and half-boots leaving the toes and part of the instep exposed: Cat. nos. 2.a, 13.2, 14 (panel 40), 15.3, 25, 26.a, 27 (panel 89, solid boots); Cat. nos. 4.2, 23.2, 31.a (half-boots).¹⁸⁷ The best preserved pair of boots are the ones worn by Artemis (Cat. no. 15.3). An intricate system of criss-crossing laces fastened the boot around the leg. To protect her legs and feet from irritation the goddess is wearing *piloi*, the overhanging parts of which are clearly visible.¹⁸⁸ Their ornamentation consists of palmettes and rows of arches.

A different lacing system is used on Asteria's boots (Cat. no. 13.2) where the laces are pulled together through hooks. The drill holes next to the hooks indicate that buttons had once been inserted but were probably not of any functional use. A similar lacing system is seen on the boot that probably belonged to one of the Hesperides (?) on the north frieze (Cat. no. 26.a, panel 87).¹⁸⁹ Like Artemis' boots these are also decorated with spirals and palmettes.

Finally Klotho, one of the three Fates on the north frieze, wears a pair of boots that consists of two different parts: a shoe-like part that covers the foot and another that covers the leg (Cat. no. 27, panel 89). Both parts have their own laces; the bow of the lower part is still visible above the ankle and the laces of the upper part end in another bow at the top of the boot.

¹⁸³ κρηπιδές: is any type of footwear that covers the bottom of the foot with a thick sole and is fastened by straps. The style could range from low sandals to up-to-the-calf shoes. They were considered part of the Greek military uniform. Xenophon *De Equitum Magistro* 12.10; Pliny *NH* 33.14; 35.85; Morrow 108-109, 180 n.46.

¹⁸⁴ πτυσκλοι: is the type of sandals with seven loops on either side of the sole through which the laces were passed; Hesychios, *Lexicon* s.v. πτυσκλοι. The πέλλυτρα were a type of sock used as a soft padding for the top of the foot leaving the toes exposed; Pollux *Onomasticon* 7.91, 10.50.

¹⁸⁵ Hsch. s.v. ἐννήυσκλοι.

¹⁸⁶ Morrow 109.

¹⁸⁷ Morrow 123-136 (solid boots), 137-139 (half-boots).

¹⁸⁸ πίλοι: were, like the πέλλυτρα, a type of sock worn inside boots or leather sandals to protect the skin from chaffing and against the cold. Plato *Symposium* 220; Morrow 182 n.60.

¹⁸⁹ Morrow 124, pl. 114 (Asteria); 124, pl. 116.a, b (Hesperides ?).

Half-boots can be identified with certainty in at least three cases: on Dionysos (Cat. no. 4.2), Aphrodite (Cat. no. 23.2) and Doris (Cat. no. 31.a). As Morrow points out, half-boots can be divided into two categories: those exposing the toes while everything else remains covered and those covering only the back leaving the toes and parts of the front leg exposed. Both types appear for the first time in the 2nd century BC.¹⁹⁰ On the Pergamene frieze there are only examples of the second group. Aphrodite's boots consist of a solid part that covers the sides of the foot and the back of the leg and a sandal-like part on the front that holds the footwear together. As the name of this type of footwear does not survive in the literary sources, Morrow believes that it may be imaginary. A similar style of construction is followed for Dionysos' boots (Cat. no. 4.2) but here the rear parts of the boots are fastened to the leg by two wide horizontal bands; the overhanging excess material is visible above the foot. Dionysos' leg is protected from irritation by what seem to be two sets of piloi.

In the case of Doris' boots (Cat. no. 31.a) it becomes obvious that her footwear could not have possibly served any functional purpose. Her half-boots are made out of fish-skin and fins, the rear parts held together by the use of a bow. The combination of real and imaginary footwear is also visible on the remains of the left boot of the nymph in Cat. no.2.a. At the top of the boot the hanging overfold is made out of snake-skin. Just as the fish-skin on Doris' boots indicates a water divinity, so snake-skin indicates a sylvan deity. That the artist built upon real footwear by adding details drawn from the deities' habitat is also seen in other cases. For instance, Artemis and Dionysos wear piloi to protect their skin against chafing but also to keep them warm. As the two divinities had a mountain habitat, Morrow suggested that the piloi were not for their functional purpose but to indicate the gods' divine nature and sphere of influence.¹⁹¹

Having identified the different types of contemporary footwear on the Pergamene frieze Morrow argued that their use was not so much functional as symbolic. Contrary to the gods the humanoid giants were depicted barefoot. The use of footwear for the gods seems completely unnecessary as they are immortal and therefore immune to human injury, or cold. Therefore, Morrow argued that the Attalids were symbolically represented by the gods. Just as the gods fought against the giants, so did the Attalids fight against the barbarians.¹⁹² Morrow's attractive argument, does not take into consideration earlier instances where gods in their own right were depicted wearing footwear.¹⁹³ However, it may be possible to argue that the association between gods and Attalids was better achieved through the use of contemporary costumes and footwear (see Chapter 5, Part A).

¹⁹⁰Morrow 137-139.

¹⁹¹Morrow 138-139.

¹⁹²Morrow 136. For further discussion on the symbolism behind the frieze see Chapter 5 pp. 149-151.

¹⁹³Cf. e.g.: Cup by the painter of Berlin 2536, from Nola dated to ca. 420s BC (Judgement of Paris; Hera, Aphrodite and Athena are depicted wearing *krepides*); Hydria by the painter of Karlsruhe Paris, Karlsruhe Badisches Landesmuseum 259 from Ruvo dated to ca. late 5th century BC (Judgement of Paris; Hermes is wearing calf-length boots and some of the goddesses are wearing *krepides*); Boardman *ARFVC* figs. 244.2, 294 respectively.

Iconographic influences on the Gigantomachy frieze

Despite its uniqueness as the largest and most detailed Gigantomachy surviving from antiquity, modern scholars tend to lay emphasis on its similarities to earlier iconographic genres. Howard suggested that the effect created is one of "an extraordinary collection of quotations taken from famous post-archaic action sculpture".¹⁹⁴ The most extensive study on the iconographic and stylistic dependence of the Pergamene Gigantomachy upon earlier prototypes was by von Salis.¹⁹⁵ The plethora of archaic, classical and hellenistic references range from the reproduction of individual figures/groups (e.g. Apollo, Zeus and Athena), to the reworking of earlier iconographic genres (e.g. hair-pulling motif). A detailed study of the purely artistic and stylistic relationships between model and image is beyond the scope of this study. However, the more important of the iconographical influences and intertextual references may be mentioned here, and consideration of their overall effect undertaken in Chapter 5.¹⁹⁶

The most frequently cited example is the Athena/Zeus group (Cat. nos. 20-21) on the east frieze which echoes the Athena/Poseidon group on the west pediment of the Parthenon; on the altar, Athena is placed on the right while on the Parthenon she is on the left (Fig. 42). As the Zeus/Athena group would be the first the spectator would come across upon his entering the altar's precinct, their strongly juxtaposed bodies would immediately recall the Poseidon/Athena group of the Parthenon.¹⁹⁷ The influence of the Parthenon group on later works of art can also be seen on the Amazonomachy of the Bassae frieze.¹⁹⁸

In the same scene the giant (panel 58) who has been pierced in the thigh by Zeus' thunderbolt seems to have been influenced by a metope from the temple of Athena at Ilion.¹⁹⁹ The temple dates to the early 3rd century BC and its east metopes were decorated with a Gigantomachy. The Ilion giant is depicted resting on his bent right leg like his Pergamene counterpart. The treatment of the torso and musculature is, as Holden noticed, very similar to that of the giant's.

¹⁹⁴S.M. Howard, "Another prototype for the Gigantomachy of Pergamon" *AJA* 68 (1964) 130. Stewart, sees an Attalid self-conscious attempt to "constitute the altar as the climax of the Greek sculptural tradition" (1990, 212), by turning the Gigantomachy into a "kind of thesaurus of masterpieces of Greek art, of *endoxoi eikones* ..." (1993, 165). See also Carpenter (1960) 200.

¹⁹⁵von Salis 44-66. Further studies on the style include: Winnefeld 234 ff.; Farnell (1882) (hair-pulling motif, emotional expressions, Parthenon quotations); idem "The Pergamene frieze" *JHS* 4 (1883) 122-135 (on the groups of the south frieze); idem (1885) 102-143 (Apollo Belvedere); Bieber (1955) 115-118; R. Carpenter, *Greek sculpture: A critical review* (Chicago: University Press, 1960) 199-201; B.M. Holden, *The metopes of the temple of Athena at Ilion* (Massachusetts: Smith College, 1964) 20-30 (on the influence of the Ilion metopes); Howard 129-136 (Alkyoneus and Laokoon group); Stewart (1990) 212; see also Howard (1964) n. 2 for a more extensive list of studies.

¹⁹⁶Where stated, the following examples have already been noted by other scholars.

¹⁹⁷Fig. 42: Parthenon, west pediment, dated ca. 447-442 BC; Boardman *CS* fig.77; Winnefeld 53ff.; von Salis 45ff.; Bieber 116; Stewart (1990) 212; Pollitt 105; Smith (1991) 161. On the relation of Zeus and Athena to the spectator see the following section "Space and Movement" esp. p. 93.

¹⁹⁸See Chapter 1 p. 13, n. 75.

¹⁹⁹The metope is in the Çanakkale Museum (450) in Turkey; Holden 21-23, pl. XXV fig.46; *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes no.22.

The similarity between the figure of Alkyoneus (panel 63) and Laokoon of the Vatican Laokoon group has often been cited (Fig. 43).²⁰⁰ The likeness is evident not only in the twisted posture but also in the expression of pathos (i.e. fear, agony of death, despair). However, in this case it is difficult to determine which group influenced which as there is a long standing debate on the chronology of the Laokoon group, some dating it to the middle of the first century BC, others closer to the date of the altar.²⁰¹

The winged Nike (panels 65-66) approaching from the right to crown Athena victorious, is a direct quotation from the east metopes of the Parthenon also depicting the Gigantomachy (Fig. 44, no. 4).²⁰² Another Pergamene sculpture influenced by the Parthenon Gigantomachy metopes is the figure of Helios on the south frieze entering the battle on his horse-drawn chariot (cf. Fig. 44, no. 14 and Cat. no. 9). Holden suggested that the Pergamene Helios was influenced by the Helios metope from the temple of Athena at Ilion.²⁰³ However, this particular motif, especially in connection to the Gigantomachy, seems to have been present earlier not only on the Parthenon metopes but also on the painted Gigantomachy of the Parthenos shield.²⁰⁴

Furthermore, it has been argued that in the lion-group in panels 29-30 (Cat. no. 11) on the south frieze one can see the reproduction of another Ilion Gigantomachy metope.²⁰⁵ In the Ilion fragment the torso of a naked man is depicted in profile. On his left arm just above the elbow the claw of a beast has sunk its claws. Despite the evident similarity to the Ilion metope, the group draws its inspiration from Herakles' iconography. The iconographic tradition of Herakles' struggle with the Nemean lion depicts the hero

²⁰⁰Fig. 43: According to the inscriptions on the bases of the statues the group was executed by Hagesandros, Athanodoros and Polydoros of Rhodes. The group was recovered from the substructures of the Baths of Trajan in Rome and is now in the Vatican Museum (Cortile del Belvedere 1059, 1064, 1067); Smith (1991) fig. 143, the date is debated (see p. 90 and n. 201). A. Wagnon, *La friese de Pergame et le groupe du Laocoon* (Geneva, 1881); "Le Laocoon et le groupe d' Athena à la friese de Pergame", *RA* 44 (1882) II, 33-43, 65-73, 129-140, 193-205, 258-270, 321-332; R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, "Das Verhältniss zum Gigantenfries von Pergamon", *Zur Deutung und Zeitbestimmung des Laokoon* (Berlin, 1883); A. Trendelenburg, *Die Laokoongruppe und der Gigantenfries des pergamenischen Altars* (Berlin, 1884); Howard 131ff; Stewart (1990) 212.

²⁰¹The literature and arguments on the date of the Laokoon group are reviewed by G.M.A. Richter, *Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture* (Oxford, 1951) 66-70, 66 n.1; see also Thimme (1946) 353 nn. 54-55. For the latest suggestions on the possible date of the Laokoon see e.g. E.E. Rice, "Prosopographika Rhodiaka" *BSA* 81 (1986) 209-250; B. Andreae *Laokoon und die Gründung Roms* (Mainz 1988).

²⁰²Fig. 44: East metopes of the Parthenon, dated ca. 447-442 BC, in *situ*; von Salis 53ff; *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes no.18.

²⁰³Dated in the end of the 3rd century BC, in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Ridgway fig. 70; Holden 30.

²⁰⁴As it has been mentioned earlier (above pp. 76-77, nn. 138-143), the Gigantomachy on the Parthenos shield can be reconstructed by a group of 4th century BC vase-paintings (Fig. 39). On the aforementioned vases Helios is depicted rising from the right in his chariot whereas Selene, on her mule, is setting on the left.

²⁰⁵F. Goethert & H. Schleif, *Der Athenatempel von Ilion* (Berlin, 1962) 27; Holden 27, n.14-15. The fragment was originally in the Calvert collection at Çanakkale (no. 266 in H. Thiersch's catalogue of the collection), but is now lost and is known only through photographs and drawings; Holden, pl. XXIV figs. 43-44.

employing a powerful head-lock in order to strangle the beast (Fig. 45).²⁰⁶ As Boardman has noted, this type of combat-move was particularly popular in the sport of wrestling.²⁰⁷

In Cat. no. 17 on the east frieze the figure of Apollo (panel 46) is often compared to the statue of Apollo Belvedere; his dying opponent (panels 46-47) to the figure of the Dying Gaul in the National Museum in Naples (Figs. 46, 47 respectively).²⁰⁸ However, it should be noted that the forerunner of the Dying Gaul and Apollo's fallen opponent can be found in the fallen warrior from the east pediment of the temple of Aphaia at Aigina (Fig. 48).²⁰⁹ Another influence from the earlier Attalid dedications can be seen in the pose of the giant in Cat. no. 5 (panels 7-9) which resembles that of the falling Gaul from the *Lesser Gauls* in Venice.²¹⁰

On the north frieze and in the biting-group of Cat. no. 24 (panels 77-78) one could recognise a scene from Herakles' iconography: the hero's battle against the giant Antaios.²¹¹ This waist-lock is again taken from Greek sport and particularly wrestling (Fig. 35).²¹² In the foreground of the following panel (79, Cat. no. 25) lies the distorted figure of a dead giant. Its awkward, twisted pose is a strong reminder of the dead Centaur on the Centauromachy frieze from the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae in Phigaleia (Fig. 49).²¹³

Likewise, the forerunners of the fallen figure in panel 83 (Cat. no. 26) can be found not only on the Ilion metopes, as Holden has suggested, but also on the Amazonomachy frieze of the Phigaleian temple of Apollo (Fig. 50).²¹⁴ The giant who is being trampled by Triton in Cat. no. 30 (panel 101) has assumed a familiar pose originally found in 4th

²⁰⁶Fig. 45: Cup, red-figure by the Painter of London E 105 (London BM E 104), (inside "Herakles and the Nemean lion") from Vulci, dated ca. 430 BC; Boardman *ARFVC* no.245. For more examples see *LIMC* V (1990; J. Boardman et al.) s.v. Herakles nos. 1771-2 (kneeling), 1816, 1817, 1825 (standing) etc.

²⁰⁷J. Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis" *JHS* 95 (1975) 1-12, esp. 11-12. Cf. e.g. Cup, red-figure by the Cat-and-dog Painter, in the British Museum (1928.1-17.59), dated ca. 475-450 BC; J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* II (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1984) 866; J. Swaddling, *The Ancient Olympic games* (London: British Museum publications Ltd, 1980) 59. For further information on the sources, iconographic and literary, of wrestling see Gardiner 372-401; Swaddling 57-60.

²⁰⁸Fig. 46: Roman copy of an original ca. 330 BC, from Italy now in the Vatican Museum 1015; Boardman *LCS* fig.64. Fig. 47: Roman copy of an original attributed to Epigonos of Pergamon (Pliny *NH* 34.88), from Rome, now in the National Museum in Naples (6015), original ca. 220 BC; Smith (1991) fig. 129. The Dying Gaul is the mirror image of the Dying Trumpeter in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 22). Winnefeld 47ff.; von Salis 70ff.; Bieber 116; Stewart (1990) 212; Stewart (1993) 163.

²⁰⁹Fig. 48: The east pediment depicted Herakles' war against Troy, now in Munich (inv. nr. 85), dated ca. 490-480 BC; Boardman *AS* fig. 206.5

²¹⁰Venice Museo Archeologico 55; Stewart pl. 689.

²¹¹First appearance of the waist-lock in Herakles/Antaios' iconography comes from this AE diobol from Tarentum, (SNG Copenhagen nr. 1003), dated ca. 302-228 BC; *LIMC* I.2 (1981; R. Olmos, L.J. Balmaseda) s.v. Antaios, no. 37, see also nos. 32, 39, 40, 43, 49-60 etc.; Smith (1991) no. 138.

²¹²Fig. 35: see above p. 69 n. 97. For more information on the waist-lock see Gardiner 388-390.

²¹³Fig. 49: Slab 527 from the Centauromachy frieze of the Phigaleian temple of Apollo, now in the British Museum (GR 18.15.10-20.1), dated ca. 427-421 BC.

²¹⁴Metope from the Gigantomachy series from the Athena temple at Ilion depicting Enkelados at the feet of Athena, now in the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, dated ca. early 3rd century BC; Ridgway 71; Holden 30. Fig. 50: slab 540 (reversed) in the British Museum (GR 18.15.10-20.16), dated ca. 427-421 BC; see also slab 542.

century BC battle scenes.²¹⁵ However, this iconographic motif can be traced even earlier, on the Gigantomachy of the Siphnian Treasury (Fig. 30).²¹⁶

Last but not least, the realistic treatment of the Pergamene horses in Cat. nos. 9, 19, and 22 (i.e. veins, folds of skin created by the beasts' movement, flowing manes) has its predecessors in the horses of the south frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, on the Parthenon (Fig. 51), and the Bassae frieze.²¹⁷

Apart from these obvious examples of individual figures or groups, the Pergamene frieze is characterised by a more subtle reworking of earlier iconographic genres.

For instance, Farnell noted that the hair-pulling motif depicted in almost every frieze-slab, appears for the first time in Greek sculpture on the metopes of the Parthenon, and is later extensively used on the Amazonomachy frieze of the Phigaleian temple (Fig. 52).²¹⁸ On the Pergamene frieze it is exploited in every position and twisted move possible, successfully avoiding repetition.

Another important feature of the Pergamene frieze that finds its predecessors in earlier Greek art is the use of facial expressions to depict emotion. The rendering of emotion on the faces of barbarians, whether these were people (e.g. Persians, Gauls), centaurs, giants or Amazons, was a long standing tradition in Greek sculpture since the end of the 6th century BC.²¹⁹ An early example of pain comes from the face of the falling giant from a metope of temple F at Selinus.²²⁰ Even more realistic nuances of expression (e.g. surprise, pain) come from the faces of some of the centaurs and Lapiths from the west pediment of the Olympian temple.²²¹

²¹⁵Pollitt 105, n.24. Pollitt compares this group to the Dexileos stele in the Kerameikos museum in Athens (ca. 394/3 BC) or slab 1022 from the Amazonomachy frieze on the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos (in London BM, dated ca. 360-350 BC); Boardman *LCS* figs. 120, 21.4 respectively.

²¹⁶Fig. 30: north frieze from the Siphnian treasury at Delphi, dated ca. 525 BC, esp. the giant being trampled by Poseidon (?) in front of Mimon (fig.22); Boardman *AS* 212.1, see also the Centauromachy frieze-slabs from the Phigaleian temple (427-421 BC) nos. 521, 522.

²¹⁷Fig. 51: Parthenon, west frieze slab VIII, "man restraining his horse", cast in Oxford of a slab in situ (the head is now destroyed), dated ca. 442-438 BC; Boardman *CS* fig. 96.3. See also the horses on the south frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (dated ca. 525 BC, Boardman *AS* fig. 212.3); the Centauromachy slabs from the Bassae frieze for the treatment of the centaurs and slab 541 from the Amazonomachy frieze (Boardman *LCS* fig. 5.3); the details on the faces of the horses of Selene's and Helios' chariot from the east pediment of the Parthenon, in London, dated ca. 438-432 BC (Stewart (1990) pl. 347, 353).

²¹⁸Fig. 52: slab 538, from the Amazonomachy frieze of the Phigaleian temple, dated ca. 427-421 BC, in the British Museum (GR 18.15.10-20.20); Farnell (1881) 334; see also slabs nos. 532, 534-536. Cf. e.g. Athena Nike temple, south frieze (battle of Marathon ?), dated ca. 420 BC, (Boardman *CS* fig. 127.2); Parthenon metopes, dated ca. 447-442 BC: Amazonomachy, west metopes, in *situ*, no. 14 (Boardman fig. 85); Gigantomachy, east metopes, in *situ* no. 1 (Boardman fig. 89); Centauromachy, south metopes, nos. 27, 30, in the British Museum in London, (Boardman 90). In vase painting though, the motif seems to have been in use during the 7th century BC; e.g. Black figure neck amphora by the Nessos Painter depicting Herakles fighting Nessos (the hero pulls the Centaur by the hair), from Athens, Athens National Museum 1002, dated ca. 620-600 BC; Boardman *ABFV* fig. 5.

²¹⁹For a retrospective study of the development of facial expressions in Greek art (vase-painting and sculpture) and examples see Richter (1970) 50-56. See also: J. Onians, *Art and thought in the Hellenistic age: The Greek world view 350-50 BC* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979) 86-87.

²²⁰In the National Museum in Palermo, dated ca. end of 6th century BC; Richter (1970) 50, fig. 190.

²²¹The temple dates ca. 470-457 BC; Boardman *CS* 39, figs. 21.4-21.7; Richter (1970) 50-52, figs. 196, 199, 210.

In the second half of the 5th century BC intense facial expression accompanied by distorted faces, becomes the medium for rendering savagery and barbarianism. Some excellent examples of this practice are found in the sculptures of the Parthenon and the Phigaleian frieze (Fig. 53).²²² Skopas is generally regarded as the "emotional sculptor" of the 4th century BC and his Tegean heads certainly confirm this.²²³ To indicate considerable intensity, he used a variety of devices: e.g. up-turned eyes, thick eyebrows and deep-set eyes, dilated nostrils, half-open mouth.²²⁴

In the Hellenistic period, with the growing interest in realism and emotions, facial expressions were used to convey the complexity of human nature. The scale of the Pergamene frieze demanded particular competence in the exploitation of these devices to depict a wide range of emotions (e.g. bestiality, pain, anger, awe, vengeance) without being repetitive. The intensity of emotion, particularly on the faces of the giants, was further enhanced by emphasising their bestial nature. The application of body-hair around the navel and armpits and the way the giants' beard and hair have been treated strongly remind us of the Gauls and giants from the Attalid dedications.²²⁵

Space and Movement

Last but not least, one of the most fascinating characteristics of the frieze is the way the artist has exploited the idea of space and movement in relation to the viewer. Using some of the figures' movement and three-dimensionality the artist ensures that the space between the sculptures and the viewer is bridged.

Onians was the first to notice this device, suggesting that it was used to guide the viewer around the monument.²²⁶ From the archaeological remains, it becomes evident that the altar was approached from the back through a gate-entrance, built at an oblique angle to the altar. The position of the altar, in relation to the entrance of the precinct, ensured that the axis of the spectator's gaze was immediately directed to the Athena/Zeus group (Fig. 54).²²⁷ Their strongly opposed striding movement and their outward-leaning position (achieved by the figures' three-dimensionality) began a movement round the altar in two directions.

²²² Fig. 53.1: Parthenon south metope no. 31 (Centauromachy), in the British Museum in London, dated ca. 447-442 BC (Boardman CS fig. 91.10). Fig. 53.2: Centauromachy, slab 521 from the Phigaleian temple, in the British Museum (GR 18.15.10-20.9), dated ca. 427-421 BC.

²²³ Richter (1970) 53.

²²⁴ For more information on the style of Skopas and the use of different devices to indicate emotion see A. Stewart, *Skopas of Paros* (New Jersey: Noyes Press, 1977) 73-75, 85-89 (on the antecedents of Skopas' style).

²²⁵ Cf. e.g. Dead Giant from the "Lesser Attalid group" in the National Museum in Naples (6013), copy of an original dated ca. 220-200 BC (notice the hair on the chest and armpits); Stewart (1990) pl.688. Cf. e.g. also with the treatment of the hair and beards of the Gauls, Giants and Amazons of the Attalid dedications, Roman copies of originals dated ca. 220-200 BC, in the National Museum in Naples (6015), the Capitoline Museum in Rome (747), and the Archaeological Museum in Venice; Stewart (1990) pls. 687, 667 and Pollitt fig. 91 respectively, see also Stewart pls. 689-691. Cf. e.g. Farnell (1881) 331; Stewart (1990) 205-206.

²²⁶ Onians 153-154.

²²⁷ Fig. 54: Plan of the altar of Zeus, showing axial lines; a) and b) indicate the respective positions of Athena and Zeus on the Gigantomachy frieze; Onians 154 fig.163.

Onians furthermore argued that this movement was continued by most of the figures on the frieze, only to be opposed by the movement of Dionysos and Amphitrite on the n/w and s/w projections respectively; Aphrodite, Persephone, and the Fates move westwards on the north frieze, while Phoibe, Selene, Helios, and Eos move westwards on the south frieze.

However, the movement of the figures on either side of the frieze does not seem to be as straightforward as Onians would like it to be. The movement of the "groups" of Aphrodite and Phoibe is not opposed by the movement of Dionysos and Amphitrite only. In reality, after every two or three figures there is another with an opposing movement. For instance, the figures of Aphrodite, Dione and the god in panel 75, are counter-balanced by the figures of the god in the biting-group, the god in panel 80, and the winged figure in panel 82. Likewise, the figures of Helios and Eos are counter-balanced by the god with the hammer in panel 16, Adrasteia and Kybele, while, Dionysos and Semele on the s/w projection, like Triton and Amphitrite on the n/w, complement each other's movement.

Consequently, it may be argued that the frieze is divided into small groups of two to three deities. The designer's intention was probably the creation of carefully balanced composition, avoiding a "procession-like" effect. Thus, the interest in the composition remains intact as the viewer's attention is not diverted by monotonous repetition of one-directional movement.

The group of Zeus and Athena, as Onians noted, dictated the direction the viewer would take upon his entering the precinct. This was partly achieved by their V-shaped composition and partly by the treatment of their bodies. Both gods are depicted frontal but their upper torso has a slight outward-leaning twist that creates the feeling of three-dimensionality.

Contrary to Onians' suggestion, it seems that only the figures of Athena and Zeus have been treated in this three-dimensional way. The rest of the gods are depicted either with their bodies frontal, in profile view, or with their backs turned to the spectator. When he reached the western side, the viewer's world is again invaded, for the second time, urging him to mount the stairs to the altar proper. This is achieved by the figures of the giants on the inner side of the two projections. They are depicted crossing the barrier (the socle of the frieze) that separates their "world" of myth from the viewer's world of reality.²²⁸ The spectator having experienced (by moving around the altar) the defeat of the giants, is now led to mount the stairs to experience what is hidden behind the columns of the portico: the Telephos frieze.

²²⁸See Chapter 5 *Space* p. 151.

CHAPTER IV

THE TELEPHOS FRIEZE

1. The frieze

The dimensions of the court wall and consequently the length of the Telephos frieze were determined by the proportions of the external colonnades. Based on these measurements the length of the frieze was 26m on the east wall, 16m on the north and south and 1.30m on the west spur walls; a total of 60.60m.¹ The frieze run along the wall clockwise starting at the NW spur wall and ending at the SW. Schrader, on the basis of the architectural evidence, concluded that the Telephos frieze was designed to run along the walls of the inner court up to the level of the external architrave (Fig. 4).² Since, however, no external frieze corners have yet been found, it is believed that the Telephos frieze could not have extended onto the western walls of the altar.³

The frieze blocks were made out of the same bluish-white marble as the Gigantomachy frieze blocks.⁴ Forty-seven panels from the Telephos frieze are completely or partially preserved. The marble slabs measure 1.58m high and their width ranges between 0.51m and 1.055m; panel 36 (Cat. no. 58) is the narrowest measuring 0.51m and panel 17 (Cat. no. 44) is the widest at 1.055m. From the panels' dimensions and the estimated length of the frieze (60.60m) it follows that it comprised approximately 74 panels: 20 on the north side, 31 on the east, 19 on the south, and 2 on each spur wall.

From the estimated dimensions of the frieze's total length and from the measurements of the entirely preserved panels, it is possible to make an approximate evaluation of how many slabs are missing from each side. Of the 47 which survive in whole or in part, 31 are entirely preserved.⁵ The north wall's entirely preserved panels measure a total length of 6.395m out of the original 16m, the east wall's 9.775m out of 26m, the south wall's 8.63m out of 16m, and the s/west spur wall's 0.78m out of 1.30m; total length 25.580m out of the original 60.60m (i.e. 35.17m missing). Thus, considering the amount of space left for each side and the approximate length measurements of each surviving slab (0.67-1.055m), one may conclude that there are probably 27 complete panels missing out of the original 74: NW spur wall 2; North 10; East 8; South 6; SW spur wall 1.⁶

¹Kästner (1998) 153.

²Kästner (1996) 76 fig. 6; H. Schrader (1899) 107-109; (1900) 97-135, fig. 9. The same upper profile moulding (smooth Lesbian cymation and flange) that ran along the outer face of the inner court's wall-capping blocks ran along the upper part of the Telephos frieze panels. Seven frieze slabs (panels 2, 8, 9, 35, 36, 47, 48) designed to fit inner corners have been found; Kästner (1996) 73.

³Kästner (1998) 153-154.

⁴See Chapter 1 p.4, n. 12.

⁵North 8 out of the surviving 10; South 12 out of 13; East 10 out of 23; N/W 1. See Table 4.

⁶Space left for each side including the fragmentary panels: North/west spur wall 1.30m; North 9.605m; East 17.37m; South 6.225m; South/west spur wall 0.52m. See Table 4.

The panels were originally 0.35 to 0.40m thick and were assembled with the aid of lewis clamps and then carved *in situ* like the Gigantomachy frieze.⁷ They were carved about half of the slab's depth leaving the other half as solid background. Panels 7 and 11 (Cat. nos. 39 and 37 respectively) were carved so deep that the relief projected 0.07m to 0.09m in front of the upper moulding.⁸

The last restoration work on the frieze (1995-6) and the consequent disassembly of most of the frieze panels provided valuable information on the way the frieze panels were originally constructed.⁹ The reverse of the panels was coarsely chiselled. Each panel's lower surface was smoothed by means of a toothed chisel and bears two square dowel holes. For additional stability panels with bevelled edges were supplied with an extra dowel on the edge, a feature still visible on panels 36 and 48. On some slabs a lever was inserted on the lower edge from the right to left or from the rear indicating that the panels were assembled on the wall left to right.¹⁰

The top surface of the frieze panels bears evidence of a lewis hole and beddings on the sides for clamps to connect adjoining panels. Sometimes dowel holes for the wall-capping stones and clamps on the rear of the panels can be seen.¹¹ Panel 43 (Cat. no. 63) alone has on the right side no bedding for a clamp to fix it to an adjoining panel. Instead there is an oblique cut serving to fasten the panel to the rear wall. On this evidence Kästner suggested that panel 43 ended the frieze and should be reconstructed at the end of the s/w spur wall following panel 48 (Cat. no. 69).¹²

There exists a large number of fragments which certainly belong to the frieze. As many of them cannot be fitted into the reconstruction, it is obvious that any claim to reconstruct the narrative with certainty remains problematic.

2. Reconstruction theories

The frieze depicts the life and deeds of the eponymous hero Telephos from the events preceding his birth to his death and heroization. The often conflicting ancient literary and artistic evidence concerning the Telephos myth, and the loss of over two thirds of the frieze's panels make reconstruction and interpretation of the frieze difficult. Shortly after the altar's discovery Robert was the first to present a reconstruction based on study of the surviving literary and artistic evidence for the myth.¹³ His theory was largely accepted,

⁷Kästner (1998) 149.

⁸Heilmeyer (1996) 128; Kästner (1998) 154.

⁹For a brief summary of the history of restoration and conservation work on the Telephos frieze see, U. Kästner (1996) vol. I 27-28; W.D. Heilmeyer, "History of the Display of the Telephos Frieze in the Twentieth Century", in *Pergamon: The Telephos frieze from the Great Altar*, vol. I, ed. R. Dreyfus, E. Schraudolph (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996) 37-38.

¹⁰Kästner (1996) 74-5. The lever was inserted on the lower right edge of panel 40 and on the lower left edge of panels 38, 39, 44, 45, 46, 34, 5, 6, 10, 11; in some cases also on the lower edge on the rear.

¹¹Kästner (1996) 74 figs. 3 (rear surface of panel 20 with traces of clamps), 4 (top surface of panel 10 with traces of a lewis hole). Panel 6 is missing the lewis hole.

¹²Kästner (1996) 74-75, fig. 5.

¹³C. Robert, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des pergamenischen Telephos-Frieses" *Jdl* 2 (1887) 244-259; 3 (1888) 45-65, 87-105.

with only minor alterations, by Schrader and later by Winnefeld in the basic publication of the altar.¹⁴ All three authors, however, assumed that the Telephos frieze ran along the inner court and extended beyond onto the west spur walls that faced the stairway. In 1971 Bauchhenss-Thüriedl was the first to propose a new interpretation, reconstructing the remains of the Telephos frieze in the inner court alone.¹⁵ The current Berlin Museum reconstruction (1997) is largely based on the studies of Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, Heres and others (Foldout 2).¹⁶

Accordingly, it has been suggested that 10 scenes are depicted on the north and south sides including the spur walls, and 15 on the east side making a total of 35 scenes from the life of Telephos. Although many elements of the story can be identified with confidence, much of the reconstruction remains problematic, and no one can pretend to have solved all the frieze's puzzles. A close study of iconographic details and tradition can always support new interpretations. In what follows some difficulties with currently accepted theories will be pointed out, and new theories advanced, particularly with respect to Telephos' trip to Argos to have his wound cured and his foundation of cults in Pergamon.

The first two panels on the NW spur wall (now missing) probably depicted king Aleos of Tegea receiving the oracle from Apollo that the son of his daughter Auge would kill his sons.¹⁷ Aleos makes Auge priestess of Athena Alea at Tegea to prevent the oracle being fulfilled. Herakles arrives at Tegea and is greeted by King Aleos and queen Neaira (Cat. no. 32-33).¹⁸ He sees Auge and, captivated by her beauty, seduces her. The scene was probably depicted in the lost panel which followed panel 3 (Cat. no. 33), where Herakles is depicted standing behind an oak tree. Their union resulted in the birth of Telephos. King Aleos, to avert the prophesied evil, ordered the infant Telephos to be exposed to die on Mt. Parthenion (Cat. no. 33, panel 4), and Auge to be cast adrift on the

¹⁴Schrader (1900) 97-135; Winnefeld 157-228, Taf. 31-36, Beil. 7.

¹⁵C. Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, "Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst", in *Beiträge zur Archäologie* (Würzburg, 1971) 40-74. Her attempt to reconstruct the frieze in the inner court alone was largely based on the absence of external frieze corner-slabs that would indicate that the frieze extended onto the western walls.

¹⁶Foldout 2: current Berlin Museum reconstruction, from *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, vol. I 16 drawings by M. Heilmeyer. Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 40-74; Heres (1997) 99-120. See also individual studies by: P. Behn, "Die Schiffe des Telephosfrieses" *Jdl* 22 (1907) 240-248; von Salis 93-149; Hansen 308-314; Schmidt 24-26; H. Heres-von Littrow, "Fragmente vom Telephosfries" *FuB* 16 (1975) 191-208; idem "Fragmente vom Telephosfries", in *Wir haben eine ganze Kunstperiode gefunden*, ed. M. Kunze for the exhibition Catalogue (Berlin: Berlin Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1986); K. Schefold, F. Jung, *Die Urkonige. Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen kunst* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1989) 207-212; *LIMC* 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos no. 1 (M. Strauss, H. Heres); Heres (1996) 83-108.

¹⁷The first reference to the oracle is found in Alkidamas' rhetorical exercise *Odyseus* 14-16 (4th century BC); L. Radermacher, "Artium Scriptorum" *SBWien* 227.3 (1951) 144-145. However, it was quite likely mentioned in Sophokles' eponymous play *Aleadae* (quite fragmentary, part of the trilogy *Telepheia*), dated between ca. 468-458 BC; S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 4 (Göttingen 1977) pp. 140-141. Schrader (1900, 110) and Robert (1887, 244; 1888, 45, 87) restored panel 1 (Cat. no. 56) to this scene. Stylistic evidence (e.g. the standing figure wears an Oriental long-sleeved chiton) however shows that this panel formed part of a different scene; Heres (1997) 101; see Catalogue no. 56.

¹⁸Robert (1888, 59) compared this scene to the scene from *Odyseus* (7.139-147), where the Phaeakian queen is "seated in the depths of the hall" while welcoming Odysseus.

sea in a skiff whose construction is depicted on panels 5-6 (Cat. no. 35). Auge's landing on the Mysian shore was apparently depicted in the following lost panel. A fragment (TF 107) of a dolphin carrying a vehicle should probably be reconstructed before panel 10 which depicts king Teuthras and his retinue on their way to welcome Auge (Cat. no. 36).

Panel 11 (Cat. no. 37) has been interpreted as Auge establishing the cult of Athena in Pergamon and has been reconstructed to follow panel 10 (Cat. no. 36) and to precede panel 12 (Cat. no. 38).¹⁹ Robert and Bauchhenss-Thüriedl had argued that this panel belonged after panel 3 (Cat. no. 33) and formed part of the "seduction scene", resting their theory on the fact that Auge's right breast was shown exposed.²⁰ Their interpretation was contested by Heres, who proposed that the plane tree in the top right corner of the panel, was part of the same plane tree seen in panel 12 (the discovery scene).²¹ Heres further argued that the four women are probably dressing the goddess' cult-statue (Cat. no. 37).

Both theories rest on thematic interpretation; there is no lapidary evidence, for no panel survives which clearly belongs on either side. The literary evidence on this aspect of the myth is insufficient to shed light on the "seduction" scene. According to Alkidamas (*Odysseus* 14-16), Herakles was offered (by king Aleos) hospitality at the temple of Athena Alea where he saw Auge and seduced her. Pausanias (8.47.4) relates that, according to the local tradition, Auge was seduced at a fountain to the north of the temple. Hekataios does not indicate the place but states that Auge and Herakles used to have intercourse at Tegea.²² Artistic iconography prior to the altar shows Herakles seducing Auge in the precinct of the temple, whereas evidence after the altar placed the seduction scene at a fountain; the group of 5th and 4th century BC bronze mirrors depicting the scene do not indicate place.²³ If, for a moment, we assume that Heres is right and that panel 11 does not belong to the seduction scene, there seems no reasonable explanation why Auge would be revealing her right breast. On the other hand, if we assume that Bauchhenss-Thüriedl is correct, then we might agree that Auge is nonetheless performing a cult act at Alea, but her bare breast is the artist's way of hinting at the coming events, Auge meeting Herakles.

According to Alkidamas (*Odysseus* 14-16), Herakles saw Auge at the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. Pausanias (8.5.3) further states that Athena Alea occasionally received the dedication of a peplos. Auge and her attendants in panel 11 seem to be engaged in dressing Athena's cult-statue, while above their heads there is an apparently unfinished *pinakion*. The cult-statue, the religious activities (dressing of the statue with a peplos?) and the pinakion indicate that the scene was taking place at the sanctuary of Athena. The pinakion would have probably carried some sort of relief decoration or it

¹⁹Heres (1997) 99.

²⁰According to Robert (1888, 57) this scene represented the birth of Telephos and should be placed between the scene of the meeting of Herakles and Auge (Cat. no. 33) and the scene of Telephos' exposure on Mt. Parthenion (Cat. no. 34). His view was shared by Bauchhenss-Thüriedl (47) who argued that Auge's (in the centre) bare right shoulder is an indication of the love affair between the two.

²¹Heres (1997) 99.

²²*FGrH* 1 F 29.

²³At the temple: T.B.L. Webster and A.D. Trendall, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London: Phaidon 1971) IV.24. At the fountain: *LIMC* 3 (1986) s.v. Auge (Bauchhenss-Thüriedl) nos. 12-20 (From the 1st to the 3rd century AD). Place unknown: mirrors *LIMC* s.v. Auge nos. 55-11 (dated to the end of the 4th century BC).

could have even been painted in the flat with a scene associated with the goddess and her cult. Representations of pinakia with relief decorations are found in art from the 5th century BC (Fig. 55).²⁴ The dressing of the cult-statue does not necessarily imply foundation of a cult. Indeed, festivals such as the *Plynteria* (Cleansing) and the *Kallynteria* (Adorning) in Athens show that ritual attention to the goddess' robe was commonplace.²⁵ One could suggest that the act was so central that it is used in this panel to stand for the whole of the cult, and as a way of stating, in a very clear and recognisable way, that "This is a priestess of Athena".²⁶ Now, a bare breast in that context is shocking and may indeed point to the coming violation. It is interesting to note that a later scene depicts further sexual problems (near-disaster) at a temple of Athena, when Auge nearly marries her son (Cat. no. 46, panel 20).

When examining the iconographic details of the frieze one must bear in mind that the Pergamene altar was a Hellenistic work of art. The Hellenistic artist enjoys being allusive and suggestive (see Chapter 5 Part A). He exploits iconographic details (such as the bare breast) to provoke the viewer's imagination. In this context, the act of violation was probably hinted at by Auge's bare breast that would have otherwise been inexplicable if this panel depicted Athena's cult foundation in Pergamon. As Bieber noted, the divesting of one breast is a "well ... known Greek motif ... that always has a definite meaning in accordance with the subject represented".²⁷ According to Cohen representations of female figures with exposed breasts may be divided into four categories: women wearing garments designed to expose breasts (e.g. Amazons, female runners); breasts purposely divested of clothes by females themselves (e.g. images of nursing mothers, erotic scenes); breast exposures by garments accidentally loosened through an action of the wearer (e.g. maenads of Dionysos); and breasts exposed by garments violently ripped open (e.g. rape of Lapith women, rape of Cassandra).²⁸ In the case of the Pergamene frieze, however, the divesting of Auge's breast does not fall into any of the categories suggested by Cohen as it is used in a scene prior to the act intended to represent. This allusive technique is a characteristic

²⁴Fig. 55: Calyx-crater (55.1) with figures in relief "Dionysiac motif", found at Bagni dei Cenci on the road to Tivoli, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, Acc. no.23.184, ca. 480-400 BC; G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of New York* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954) fig.60 plate LII. Relief with Dionysos visiting a poet (55.2), original dated to ca. 30 BC, in the background behind Dionysos there is a pinakion with relief decoration, London British Museum 2190; Stewart (1990) fig. 827. Grave or votive relief (55.3) of a family found on the road to Eleusis, 75-50 BC; Berlin Altes Museum (Photo by A.S. Fanta).

²⁵These were the names of the two chief days of a service of atonement held at Athens two months before the Panathenaia festival. During these days the Erechtheion was cleansed, the wooden image of the goddess Athena Polias unclothed, the garments washed (*Plynteria*), and the image itself purified. During the process of purification and cleansing the image of the goddess was covered with a cloth. After the purification process was finished the image of the goddess was again clothed and adorned with ornaments. Plut. *Alcibiades* 34.1-4; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 17-22; F. Sokolowski, *Les sacrées des cités Grecques* Supplement (Paris 1962) 10 A 5; Burkert 79, 228, 439 n. 5.

²⁶Cf. e.g. *Iliad* 6 (ll. 90-92, 271-273, 301-303) where the presentation of a peplos, not the dressing of the statue, is described but the latter is implied.

²⁷M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies, Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1977) 59, 63.

²⁸B. Cohen, "Divesting the female breast of clothes in Classical Sculpture" in *Naked Truths* ed. A.O. Koloski-Ostrow and C.L. Lyons (London: Routledge 1997) 66-92.

example of Hellenistic art and is used in the context of the narrative to stimulate thinking and prepare the viewer of the events to come.

The scene on the Pergamene frieze could have depicted Auge and her attendants, or maidens participating at the cult ceremony (draping the statue), during which Herakles first laid eyes on Auge (panel 3).²⁹ If this panel is to be reconstructed following panel 3, then the oak tree, behind which Herakles is standing, is a further indication that the scene is taking place in the sanctuary of Athena. It is not irregular to have a tree designating a sanctuary. It is actually one of the most traditional ways of sanctuary representation in ancient Greek art (Fig. 56).³⁰ The tree-motif is used again on the Telephos frieze to designate the sanctuary of Lykian Apollo (laurel tree) in panel 1 (Cat. no. 56). The choice of the oak tree is probably indicative of the type of trees growing in the region of Tegea.³¹

The frieze continues with the miraculous rescue of the infant Telephos by a lioness, rather than the hind of most sources.³² Herakles is leaning against his club, in front of a plane tree, looking on while his son Telephos is suckled by the lioness (Cat. no. 38, panel 12). In the following two panels, which also form the end of the north wall, is a bathing scene (Cat. nos. 39-40). The child Telephos must have been depicted here being bathed by the Nymphs and watched over by mountain deities.³³ Telephos' childhood and youth cannot be reconstructed with certainty as the panels depicting it have not survived. Panel 9 on the n/e corner, however, is considered to have formed part of these scenes as traces of a youth in mountainous terrain have survived; Telephos was raised by the herdsmen of the local king Korythos.³⁴ It is not certain if Telephos was depicted killing his uncles and thus fulfilling the oracle given to Aleos.

The myth continues with Telephos sailing his ship to Mysia in search of his mother (Cat. no. 42).³⁵ The following panels are missing but believed to have narrated his arrival

²⁹Cf e.g. maenads celebrating at an already dressed statue of Dionysos, on a cup by Makron, dated ca. 480s BC, Berlin Staatliche Museen 2291, from Vulci; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London: Thames and Hudson 1993) fig. 311.

³⁰Fig. 56: Votive relief, family sacrifice, in Munich 206, dated to ca. 150-100 BC; Stewart (1990) fig. 824, cf. also M.P. Carroll-Spiellecke, *Landscape depictions in Greek relief sculpture* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1985) 107, pls. 6, 7, 12; Boardman *ARFVC* figs. 171, 183, 335.

³¹According to Pausanias (8.12.1) the region of Mantinea (close to Tegea) is filled with oak-woods. Even though there is no indication of the kind of trees growing in the region of Tegea, it is probable that oak trees were not unusual; see also J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias' description of Greece*, vol. IV (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898) 222, n.12 and bibliography on the types of trees in the Peloponnese. The plane tree on the top right corner of panel 11 indicated the change from this scene to another, probably associated with Telephos' birth or exposure on Mt. Parthenion.

³²Diod. Sic. Library 4.33.7-12; see below section 3.

³³By comparing this panel to a wall-painting from the Basilica at Herculaneum (dated ca. 60 AD depicting the same subject), Heres suggested that the female seated figure in panel 8 was probably a mountain goddess like the figure of Arkadia in the Roman painting; Heres (1996) 96; Heres (1997) 100.

³⁴Diod. Sic. 4.33.7-12 (dated ca. 60-30 BC).

³⁵Schrader (see Winnefeld Beil. 7, panel 14a) argued that panel 14a, (Inv. no. 14/6, 14/1 not included in the reconstruction) formed part of the ship's mast, on either side of which are a woman and a child. Behn (243-244, Abb. 2) declared that the object called a mast was just an architectural element, while panel 14 was evidently (due to its elaborate decoration) part of a royal ship; see also H. Kähler, "Pergamon", *Bilderhefte Antiker Kunst* 9 (1949) 58. From the current Museum reconstruction panel 14a (Inv. no. 14/6, 14/1) is excluded. Finally, panels 13, 32-33, and 14 had originally been restored as forming part of the embarkation

in Mysia and his reception by king Teuthras, part of this scene being depicted on the left edge of panel 16 (Cat. no. 43). In panels 16-17 (Cat. nos. 43-44) Telephos is receiving armour from his mother Auge in preparation for war against Idas, Teuthras' enemy. In the adjoining panel Teuthras is bidding Telephos farewell (panel 18, Cat. no. 45). Here, there is a gap in the narrative and an absence of identifiable fragments. The myth is resumed in panel 20 (Cat. no. 46) where king Teuthras is leading Auge to Athena's cult statue for her marriage to Telephos. The scene can be identified with certainty as the two figures are separated from the following scene (panel 21, Cat. no. 47) by the use of a pillar against which the end legs of a bed indicate that the adjoining panel depicted Auge's and Telephos' wedding night. According to the myth, the union of Auge and Telephos was prevented by the gods who sent a giant snake on their wedding night, resulting in their recognition.³⁶ Despite the fragmentary state of panel 21 (Cat. no. 47) the traces of gigantic snake-coils make this scene identifiable.

The exact sequence of panels 22-33 (Cat. nos. 48-49) cannot be reconstructed with certainty. According to the literary tradition after the mother-and-son recognition, Teuthras gave Telephos his daughter, the Amazon Hiera, in marriage.³⁷ Meanwhile, the Greeks, heading for Troy, landed by accident in Mysia and mistook it for Troy.³⁸ The battling group in panels 22-24 (Cat. nos. 48-49) has been identified as the death, at the hands of the Greek Nireas, of the Amazon Hiera who stormed into battle at the head of the Mysian women. Her death brought the hostilities to a halt; for apparently her beauty was so great that her funeral was mourned by both Greeks and Mysians (panel 51, Cat. no. 50).³⁹ The *prothesis* in panel 51 (Cat. no. 50) is likely to represent the funeral of Hiera.⁴⁰

The story is again resumed with the battle at the Kaikos valley (panels 25-29; Cat. nos. 51-53). Panel 25 has been identified as the Scythian allies of Telephos, Heloros and Aktaios (sons of the river Ister), lying dead. The earliest and only reference to Scythian warriors appears in Philostratos' account of the myth (*Heroikos* 23.24-23.30). It is indeed surprising that this particular element appears neither in the earlier literary and iconographic record nor in the later one. Mythically, there can be no plausible explanation for Scythian participation in Telephos' battle against the Greeks. The Scythian land, located in the northern Balkans, was not being invaded nor was there a threat of its being

of the Greeks after their defeat at the Kaikos battle. The standing figure in panel 13 is apparently striving to push the ship into the water while the kneeling figure is tending his wounds or those of a companion; Robert (1888) 92, 51; Winnefeld 184-185, pls. 35.5, 36.8; Behn 245-246; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 58.

³⁶Hyginus *Fabulae* 100 (2nd century AD).

³⁷Hiera according to Philostratos' *Heroikos* 23.24-23.30; Agriope according to Diod. Sic. 4.33.12; *LIMC* 5, (1990) s.v. Hiera (E. Simon).

³⁸Kypria fr.: 40 Bernabé *PEG*, 32 Davies *EGF*; cf. also fr. 20 Bernabé (attributed to οἱ νεώτεροι).

³⁹Phil. 23.24-23.30.

⁴⁰For a long time this panel was considered to represent the death and prothesis of Telephos; see e.g. Winnefeld 197, pl. 34.2; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 56-57, 71; Hansen 314. Robert (1888, 88) called this scene the prothesis of the Aleadae and placed it on the north wall. However, on the basis of the long curly hair it has been suggested that a youth or a woman was represented here rather than the old Telephos; Heres (1997) 101-102. According to Heres it is also plausible that Auge's funeral is depicted here, as that would explain the presence of civilians rather than soldiers (as would befit the Amazon queen) at the head of the bier. Heres had originally argued that the scene depicted Telephos' prothesis; (1975) 194; *LIMC* 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos 861 (Heres-Strauss).

invaded in the future. Thus, it could be argued that they had nothing to gain out of this expedition as allies of Telephos.⁴¹

In panels 27-29 (Cat. no. 53, panel 29) the personifications of the river Kaikos and one of his tributaries are apparently depicted; their feet alone are preserved.⁴² The battle reaches its climax with the wounding of Telephos by Achilles brought about by the intervention of Dionysos (panels 30-31; Cat. nos. 54-55).⁴³

As Telephos' wound would not heal he consulted the oracle of Lykian Apollo (Cat. no. 56, panel 1), who revealed that "he who wounded him would cure him".⁴⁴ Telephos is represented here dressed as an Asiatic Greek with a servant kneeling before him, recording down the oracle. However, judging from the position of the figure's fingers (Cat. no. 56.3) it does not seem as if he is engraving the letters, as would be expected, on a tablet. The delicate way with which he is holding the instrument of writing (with the forefingers) indicates that the medium upon which he was registering the oracle was in itself delicate and soft; a clay or stone tablet would require a sharp tool for the engraving. Considering the importance of parchment in Pergamon and its extensive use in the Pergamene Library, one might wish to see the servant in panel 1 writing the oracle on the famous *Charta Pergamene*.⁴⁵ The Pergamene artist was perhaps introducing into the myth of Telephos elements from the life and industry of Attalid Pergamon.⁴⁶

After receiving the oracle, Telephos embarked on a ship and sailed for Argos in search of Achilles (panels 34-35; Cat. no. 57). The scene represented in these panels is the arrival of the hero's ship at Argos. Telephos is identified in panel 34 disembarking from the ship. He supports himself by laying his right hand on the arm of the man standing on the shore. Telephos and his companions are welcomed by the Argives in panels 36-38 (Cat. nos. 58-60). The hero is then invited to a banquet where he discloses his identity and the purpose of his visit (panels 38-40; Cat. nos. 60-61). Furthest to the right (panel 40) is Telephos showing his wound to the others by lifting the *chlamys* from his left thigh. On his right, Odysseus is identified by his beard and *pilos* cap. The seated figure after Odysseus has been identified as Nestor by his more mature body, followed by Agamemnon who is holding a sceptre and finally Menelaos.⁴⁷

⁴¹For an interpretation of the introduction of Scythians in the Telephos myth see Chapter 5 pp. 155-156.

⁴²The fragments of their feet were not included in the (1997) exhibition. For a reconstruction see Winnefeld Beil. 7 panels 27, 29. For panel 29 see Cat. no. 53.

⁴³Kypria fr. 40-41 Bernabé *PEG*, 32 Davies *EGF*; cf. also fr. 20 Bernabé (attributed to οἱ νεώτεροι) for Dionysos' intervention. Dionysos intervened on the side of Achilles because he was angered by Telephos for not sacrificing to him. The Greeks escaped the god's wrath only because Agamemnon had received an oracle of Apollo advising him to sacrifice to Dionysos Sphaleotas upon their landing in Mysia; Lykophron *Alexandra* ll. 205-215, (dated probably sometime after 197/6 BC). The date of Lykophron's *Alexandra* has caused much debate, the reason being that the poet is thought to have lived in the 3rd century BC but in the poem he refers to events after 197/6 BC. Consequently, it has been argued that the poet Lykophron is not the one that lived in the 3rd century BC but some other who used the name of the famous 3rd century one; for a list of works on the debate see *OCD* s.v. Lycophron, 895-897.

⁴⁴Kypria fr. 41 Bernabé *PEG*, 32 Davies *EGF*; cf. also fr. 22 Bernabé (attributed to οἱ νεώτεροι).

⁴⁵See Chapter 2 p. 50; see also mosaic with parchment from Palace V, p. 44, n. 212.

⁴⁶See Chapter 5, p. 152.

⁴⁷Heres (1996) 99; (1997) 101; Hansen 313.

The myth is again interrupted and resumes in panel 42 (Cat. no. 62), which depicts Telephos with the infant Orestes at an altar, threatening to kill the baby unless he be cured. The scene takes place in the presence of Agamemnon. The figure of the young female, kneeling in front of the altar has been identified as a maid-servant.⁴⁸ The literary tradition provides us with no evidence as to who she may be. The iconographic tradition reveals only three examples where a female figure, other than Klytaimnestra or female deities, are present at the scene.⁴⁹ Of these examples the most interesting seems to be a 4th century BC Etruscan calyx crater depicting on the right a veiled female figure (Klytaimnestra) accompanied by another younger female identified by Touchefeu and Krauskopf as Iphigeneia (Fig. 57).⁵⁰ The scene on the vase is divided into two levels. The upper level is decorated with figures of gods: Athena, Iris, Apollo, Artemis, Zeus and Hermes. The lower level depicts Telephos and Orestes in the centre, flanked by Agamemnon and Odysseus (or Menelaos) on the left, and the two females on the right.

The presence of all these gods, who in essence have nothing to do with the myth of Telephos (apart from Apollo and Athena), might be justified if seen in the context of the Trojan war. According to the ancient sources, when the Greeks gathered at Aulis they were wind-bound for days until Kalchas prophesied that they would be unable to sail unless Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter Iphigeneia to Artemis.⁵¹ In this context, the presence of Iphigeneia and the other gods at the scene could be understood as forming part of the wider saga of the Trojan war, which follows from the events surrounding the healing of the hero Telephos.

On the Pergamene frieze there is no indication of the identity of the kneeling figure. However, to the ancient viewer acquainted with the saga of the Trojan war and the events following Telephos' healing, the presence of a young maiden at the scene of the altar might have brought to mind the impending sacrifice of Iphigeneia by her father Agamemnon at a similar altar in Aulis.

According to Heres the scene at the altar was followed by panel 43 (Cat. no. 63) which, in its lost part, probably depicted Telephos' healing by Achilles. Despite Heres' suggestion, Kästner believes that panel 43 should be restored at the end of the frieze.⁵²

What follows cannot be identified with certainty. Panels 44-46 (Cat. nos. 64-65) have been identified as the founding of Dionysos' cult in Pergamon. Schrader was the first to suggest this, arguing that Telephos after he was cured founded the god's cult to appease him. The two seated male figures have been identified as satyrs, the one on the left holding

⁴⁸Heres (1996) 96; (1997) 101.

⁴⁹*LIMC* I (1981; O. Touchefeu, I. Krauskopf) s.v Agamemnon nos. 15, 16, 18.

⁵⁰Fig. 57: attributed to the Nazzano Painter, dated to ca. 370-350 BC, in Boston 1970.487; *LIMC* I s.v Agamemnon no. 18. In the other two examples (nos. 15-16) no suggestions have been made on the identity of the figures.

⁵¹Kypria: fr. 23 Bernabé *PEG* (attributed to οἱ νεώτεροι). Only Dictys Cretensis (1.22) places her sacrifice before the expedition to Mysia.

⁵²Kästner (1996) 75, see also above p. 96; Heres (1997) 101; Winnefeld 192-193 pl. 43 (drawings by M. Heilmeyer).

a thyrsos in his raised left arm. The two standing females are offering their hands in handshake.⁵³

Panels 49-50 (Cat. nos. 66-67) have been identified as the erection of an altar overlooked by a goddess sitting or standing in a *naiskos*. The two male figures sitting on the ground are considered to be the personifications of the two rivers flowing around the city of Pergamon (Selinos and Ketios); the one on the left holding, what has been identified as, a large aquatic bird over his knee. Despite the lack of cultic ceremony, the placement of the capstone has been interpreted as a sign of cult or city (Pergamon) foundation.⁵⁴ Heres believes that the foundation of Pergamon's most important cults was probably depicted either because they were connected with Telephos and Auge (especially that of Athena) or because they were supported by the Attalids.

The south frieze ends with the depiction of a fleeing woman (panel 47; Cat. no. 68), running towards the heroized Telephos depicted on the s/w spur wall (panel 48; Cat. no. 69), where he reclines on a *kline*. The fleeing action of the two women and the hero Telephos pointing towards something in the previous panel suggest to Heres the, now-missing, epiphany of God Dionysos himself.⁵⁵

The South frieze reconsidered

Banquet vs. healing scene?

According to Heres, in panels 39-40 (Cat. no. 61) the Argive princes held a traditional Homeric banquet in honour of their guest without yet knowing who he was. There are, however, certain details in this scene that seem to call into question the banquet interpretation and lead to a different interpretation of the panels. Why are there no drinking cups in their hands? Why do the servants resemble the *paides* in funerary banquets? Why is there a standing spear-bearer in the background at the centre of the scene?

There is ample evidence, especially from vase-painting, for Greek banquets and symposia where the participants are represented reclining on couches and drinking out of kylikes or other drinking vessels. Where food is depicted, it is usually placed on small tables in front of the couches (Fig. 58).⁵⁶ In general Greek banquets and symposia are

⁵³Schrader (1900) 130-131; Winnefeld 192-194, pl.32.2; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, 62 ff.; Hansen 313; Heres (1997) 101-102 figs. 15-16. Robert (1888, 89-90), on the other hand, placed these panels on the north wall before the landing in Mysia arguing that they represented Telephos' purification at the sanctuary of Dionysos after the murder of the Aleadai. Heres argues, though not entirely convincingly, that the female standing between the two seated males is a goddess because of the classical treatment of her drapery, and the other a noble woman because of the Hellenistic treatment; see below section 4 *Drapery* pp. 119-122.

⁵⁴Winnefeld 195-196, pl. 32.6; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 60 ff.; Schefold-Jung 211; *LIMC* 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos 861 (Heres-Strauss); Hansen 314; Heres (1996) 93 fig. 17; (1997) 101.

⁵⁵Heres (1997) 102.

⁵⁶Fig. 58: Cup (58.1) by the C Painter, "Symposion", London BM, B 382 from Nola, ca. 570-560 BC; Boardman *ABFV* no. 36, North cella frieze (58.2) from the Nereid monument in Xanthos, dated to ca. 400-380 BC, London 898a; Boardman *LCS* 218.8; for more examples see *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. W.J. Slater (The University of Michigan Press, 1991).

represented by reclining males drinking from cups and being entertained by younger men, women or musicians.⁵⁷

Some banquet scenes acquired a different character towards the end of the 6th century BC as they became associated with the "death-feast" ("Totenmahl").⁵⁸ The earliest iconographic representation of such a banquet is on a relief from Paros ca. 500 BC.⁵⁹ The scene usually involves a man (the deceased) reclining on a couch, with a table beside him filled with various kinds of food (fruits or cakes). There are many examples of this motif in funerary art up to the Hellenistic period (Fig. 59).⁶⁰ As on the vase-paintings, food is not usually brought to the symposiast but is rather depicted already laid on the side-tables in front of him.⁶¹

Another interesting detail of the Telephos frieze is the basket in which the youth in panel 40 (Cat. no. 61.3) carries the food. This type of basket known as *kanoun* or *kaneon* was one of the two primary utensils used in sacrifices (the other being the *chernips*).⁶² The richness of the material, especially from vase-painting, depicting this type of basket used in sacrifices and for food offerings to the dead is far too important to ignore (Fig. 60).⁶³ Its popularity and consistent use in pictorial motifs related to sacrificial rites and funerary offerings, together with its persistent absence from banquet scenes, is probably an indication of its important religious role. Heres, quoting von Salis, suggests that the two servants on the Telephos frieze resemble the *paidēs* at funerary banquets.⁶⁴ This is true especially in the case of hero votive reliefs, where two smaller-scale figures approach from either side the *kline* of the heroized dead (Fig. 59). However, the resemblance is limited to

⁵⁷See e.g. Boardman, *ARFVC* nos. 72, 153, 187; *ARFVA* nos. 25, 238, 243, 284, 290, 305. On the Greek way of dining see Slater *Dining in a Classical Context*.

⁵⁸R. Garland, *The Greek way of death* (London: Duckworth, 1985) 70.

⁵⁹Boardman *AS* fig. 255.

⁶⁰Fig. 59: Hero relief of Metrodoros from W. Asia Minor, ca. 200-197 BC, in the Fitzwilliam Museum GR 28.1865; L. Budde, R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge* (Cambridge: University Press, 1964) pl. 20.63. Cf. also Banquet relief from Thasos, ca. 460 BC, Istanbul Museum 578, "A hero at a symposion", Boardman *CS* fig. 44; Hero relief from W. Asia Minor, ca. 1st century BC, in the Fitzwilliam Museum lent by the Master and Fellows of Trinity College; Budde and Nicholls pl. 20.64.

⁶¹Exception: A painting from the dome of a tomb at Kazanlak in Bulgaria, ca. 300 BC where a woman is bringing forward fruits in a shallow basket. For illustration see Pollitt fig. 203.

⁶²A *kanoun* (*kaneon*) has a flat or round bottom, usually with two small legs and concave sides widening towards the top; sometimes supplied with three handles; e.g. *Iliad* 11.630; *Odyssey*, 10.355; E. Ziebarth, *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin: 1873) I.2 313.136; II.2 1414.20; van Straten 10, 31. A *chernips* is a container with water for washing the hands before the sacrifice; e.g. *Odys.* 3.440-2; Aristophanes' *Birds* 850, *Peace* 948; van Straten 32-35; *Odyssey* 3.442; Aristophanes *Birds* 850; *RE* Suppl. IV, 870-5.

⁶³Fig. 60: Athenian red figure bell crater (60.1), Kleophon Painter (?), ca. 440-420 BC, Agrigento Museo Archeologico Regionale 4688; Bell crater (60.2), Chrysis Painter, ca. 450-425 BC, Boston, Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, 95.25; van Straten, nos.30, 32; White Lekythos (60.3), unattributed, Athens National Museum, 1975 from Eretria, 5th century BC; White Lekythos (60.4) by the Woman Painter, third to last quarter of the 5th century BC, from Eretria, Athens National Museum, 1956; D.C. Kurtz, *Athenian white Lekythoi: Patterns and Painters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) nos. 20.3, 44.1. For more examples see above editions.

⁶⁴Heres (1997) 195-107; von Salis 124-5.

the pose and the flanking position of the figures (Fig. 61).⁶⁵ At a funerary banquet scene food is not usually fetched in a *kanoun*, like that on the Telephos frieze.

Not the least peculiar element of the scene is the unidentifiable capital of the column in panel 40 (Cat. no. 61.2). It has been suggested that the pillar, traces of which can be seen behind the youth in panel 38 (Cat. no. 60), was topped by a similar capital, suggesting that the scene between the two was taking place indoors.⁶⁶ Von Salis considered the capital to be an urn whereas Schmidt believes that it is a badly damaged Korinthian capital.⁶⁷

Both suggestions have problems. The pillar in panel 40 does not reach to the top of the cornice like that in panel 43 and probably in panels 3, 20, and 51. Thus it becomes evident that the scene was not meant to be viewed as taking place within a dwelling. Furthermore, it cannot be argued with certainty that the pillar in panel 38 was topped by a similar capital. It should perhaps be assumed that this column referred not to the banquet scene, rather to the following one; the pillar in panel 20 indicated that the scene in panel 21 and not 20 was taking place indoors. Moreover, the identification of the capital in panel 40 as a Korinthian one should probably also be doubted; for it does not have the compactness of a Korinthian capital. Neither can its identification as an urn be sustained. It is possible that its interpretation is related to the subject of the scene into which it was incorporated. The evidence, however, is scarce and there does not seem to be any comparable example in the iconographic material. So any attempt at interpretation can only be speculation.

The "banquet scene" of the Telephos frieze is, at the very least, particularly unconventional. These considerations lead us to look for alternative explanations of the scene.⁶⁸ The scene from the Telephos myth that seems to require the depiction of seated figures and a standing person with a spear is that in which Telephos receives his cure from the rust on Achilles' spear. Telephos is represented in all occasions sitting or reclining, while Achilles is scraping rust off his spear onto Telephos' wound (Fig. 62).⁶⁹ Depending on the composition and the medium on which the scene is depicted, one or more figures are included as witnesses to the act. One may suggest that what is depicted on the Telephos frieze is perhaps the healing of the eponymous hero attended by the Argive princes. He is just about to reveal his wounded thigh while Achilles, in the background, is about to approach with his spear.

The youthfulness of the spear-bearer's body may be indicative of the person of Achilles, who was the youngest of the Argive princes at the Trojan war. The food and what was probably water were brought over by servants (*paidēs*) for the actual medical act

⁶⁵The pose of the youth pouring water is especially similar to the votive relief from Piraeus ca. 150-125 BC, "Dionysos visits a heroized poet", Paris Louvre MA 741 (Fig. 61); Stewart (1990) fig. 826.

⁶⁶Heres (1997) 105-107.

⁶⁷von Salis 124-139; Schmidt (1965) 26.

⁶⁸When asked her opinion on the unconventional treatment of the scene in relation to earlier banquet scenes Dr Heres said "Well someone has to bring the food over". However, the need to depict this does not seem to have concerned earlier or contemporary artists.

⁶⁹Fig. 62: In Berlin, Antikensammlung 3294 (Fr. 35); LIMC 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos, no. 85 (Heres-Strauss). Cf. also Trendall fig. 256; LIMC s.v. Telephos no. 87, LIMC 1 (1981) s.v. Aigisthos no. 51 (R.M. Gais); E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen Deutschen Sammlungen Band II* (1969) pl. 475.

or as an offering to the snake of the god Asklepios. There are many votive reliefs dedicated to Asklepios where fruits and cakes, similar to those on the Telephos frieze, are brought forward in a *kanoun* for the god's snake.⁷⁰

The connection between Telephos and the god Asklepios was quite a close one. According to Dictys Cretensis, Telephos on the advice of Apollo was healed by Achilles and the two sons of Asklepios, Machaon and Podaleirios, who had joined the Greek army as doctors; Achilles scraped the rust and the Asklepiads treated the wound.⁷¹ Even though this testimony does not appear in the artistic tradition prior to the altar, the participation of the two Asklepiads in the war against Troy is testified to by the *Iliad*.⁷² Even more interestingly, in a Macedonian hymn to Apollo (father of Asklepios) the two Asklepiads are referred to as "the healers of Greek spearmen".⁷³

In Pergamon the cult of Asklepios was introduced by a certain Archias ca. 350 BC. The god's temple in Pergamon was the most prominent centre of his worship in Asia Minor. His sacred precinct was located outside the city walls to the S/W.⁷⁴ The foundations of the temple date to the 4th century BC (pre-Attalid) but rebuilding and additions took place throughout the Attalid reign.⁷⁵ During the reign of Eumenes II the god appears for the first time on the royal and municipal bronze coinage of Pergamon, dated to the first half of the 2nd century BC.⁷⁶ According to Pausanias (3.26.10) the Pergamene hymn to Asklepios begins with a mention to Telephos. Telephos' connection with Asklepios in Pergamon, even though not entirely clear, is again testified to by the

⁷⁰Votive relief of Asklepios from the Asklepieion in Athens, Athens National Museum 1335, 4th century BC; van Straten no. 70; for more examples see van Straten 275-283, nos. 58-71. For the appropriate offerings to Asklepios (honey-cakes, cheese-cakes, figs and bakemeats) see e.g. Aristophanes *Plutus* ll. 660, 676-681; *IG* II.2 no. 4962 (dated to ca. beginning of the 4th century BC); IvP no. 251 ll. 15-16 (2nd century BC).

⁷¹W. Eisenhut, *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos Belli Troiani libri* (Leipzig, 1973) 2.6, 10; A. Kytzler, "Fiktionale Prosa" in *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft* 4 Spätantike (Wiesbaden 1997) 469-477. Dictys, according to this work, was said to be a Kretan companion of Idomeneus at Troy and the author of a Trojan war diary. The work was apparently discovered during Nero's time and translated into Latin by Septimius (4th century AD). Even though Dictys' statements cannot be proved conclusively it is believed that they probably reproduced material in the late Epic; E.J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: A collection and interpretation of the testimonies* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1945) 13-14, n. 46 (for works on the validity of Dictys' work).

⁷²2.729-733; 11.833-836; cf. also Sophokles' play *Philoktetes* (ll. 1329-1334), dated to ca. 409 BC, in the play the two Asklepiads are responsible for the healing of the hero Philoktetes.

⁷³*IG* II.2 no. 4473, dated to ca. 1st century AD. Asklepios was the son of Apollo and was worshipped alongside him in Epidauros; Asklepios was born and buried in Epidauros. For the sanctuary and cult of Asklepios in Epidauros see Edelstein vol. I 69-71, vol. II T 400.

⁷⁴Archias: Pausanias 2.26.8-9. There is no mention to the sanctuary until 156 BC when the Bithynian king Prusias made a rich offering to the god before he attacked the city of Pergamon. Among his spoils was a statue of the god made by Phyromachos; Polybios, 32.15.1-4; see also Chapters 1 p. 15 n. 89, 2 p. 38 n. 169. See also Philostratos *Apollonios of Tyana* 4.34 (on the importance of the sanctuary in Asia Minor), Hansen 259-261.

⁷⁵G. de Luca, "Das Asklepieion" in *Altertümer von Pergamon*, vol. 11 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984) Hansen, 259-261. See also below *Cult ceremonies*.

⁷⁶Hansen, 432-433 (municipal bronze), 435-6 (royal bronze); see also Wroth pl. 27.3. Also, one of the 12 Pergamene tribes was named after Asklepios; W. Kolbe, and H. von Prott, "Die 1900-1901 in Pergamon gefunden Inschriften" *AM* 27 (1902) 66, 114; idem "Die Ephebenlisten" *AM* 32 (1907) 446-449; P. Jacobsthal, "Die Inschriften" *AM* 33 (1908) 385-386.

votive reliefs to the heroized Telephos found in the god's sacred precinct (Fig. 63).⁷⁷ Pausanias (5.13.3) further mentions that those who wish to sacrifice to Telephos in the Kaikos valley are not allowed to go up to the temple of Asklepios before they bathed. Even though Pausanias does not clarify why the two are mentioned in the same context it may be plausibly suggested that a cultic activity involving both is described here: first sacrifice to Telephos and then cleansing before entering the temple of the god for further (unknown) ritual actions. Indeed, the Kaikos valley was where the hero was wounded. One would be expected to go there first and purify oneself after the disaster (the wounding), and then proceed to the temple of Asklepios to give thank offerings for the healing.

Having examined the iconographic details that make this "banquet" a very unconventional one and the evidence pointing in the direction of Telephos' healing, it becomes obvious that the surrounding panels (36-38, 42) should accordingly be reconsidered in terms of their context and position on the frieze.

Reconciliation scene

If panels 38-40 depict the healing of Telephos, then the scene at the altar (Cat. no. 62) should precede the healing scene. Panel 37 represents two men shaking hands and has been reconstructed to precede panel 38; parts of the right figure's chiton are depicted on the left edge of panel 38. The scene has been identified as the welcoming of Telephos to Argos by the entourage of king Agamemnon (panel 38).⁷⁸ As the lapidary evidence indicates that panels 37-40 should follow the scene at the altar (Cat. no. 62), the scene in panels 37-38 cannot be interpreted as a welcoming scene.

According to the myth Telephos threatened the life of Orestes until Agamemnon agreed to his healing.⁷⁹ It is quite plausible that, following the scene of violence (Cat. no. 62), the two heroes (Agamemnon and Telephos) were depicted shaking hands as a sign of reconciliation and agreement to Telephos' cure (Cat. nos. 59-60). Such an interpretation is further supported by the myth's development on the frieze. At least iconographically it would be more important to depict the reconciliation between the two heroes (Agamemnon and Telephos), than the welcoming of Telephos to Argos. It should also be noted that a formal "state" welcome in Telephos' circumstances seems most unlikely. For the sake of the narrative it becomes important that, following the scene of violence, a scene of reconciliation should be depicted before the actual healing takes place.

⁷⁷Fig. 63: Bergama Museum Nr. 775 (VTS 65/122), dated to ca. 100 BC; de Luca 129-130, Tafel 59 S 60. See also below *Telephos' tomb scene*.

⁷⁸The Argive princes, not knowing the true identity of Telephos, welcome him to Argos as the laws of *xenia* (hospitality) require; Heres (1996) 99; G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965) 49-50, Abb.23.

⁷⁹See below p. 117 n. 125 for the literary and iconographic evidence to the scene.

Court of Agamemnon

The position of panel 36 is secured at the s/e corner from its bevelled left edge. The event depicted on this panel followed Telephos' arrival in Argos and preceded the altar, reconciliation and healing scenes described above. According to the ancient literary and iconographic evidence, Telephos arrived in Argos *incognito*, either disguised as a beggar (like Odysseus) or traveller.⁸⁰ It is quite plausible that the (now missing) panel following panel 36 depicted Telephos being escorted to the palace of Agamemnon.

One of the most ambiguous panels (in terms of position and context) is panel 43 (Cat. no. 63). It has been identified as part of Telephos' healing scene. On the other hand, Kästner believes it is an end panel and should be reconstructed ending the frieze, following panel 48.⁸¹ This reconstruction, however, has a significant flaw: the frieze's spur walls measured 1.30m long. Panel 48, which on the evidence of its bevelled edge and theme should be reconstructed on the s/west spur wall, measures 0.78m - allowing a space of 0.52m for the second panel to be placed. However, panel 43 has a total length of 0.74m. It is obvious that the two panels together on the s/west spur wall would exceed the allocated frieze space by 0.22m. In addition, Kästner still has to make room for the completion of the scene in panel 48 (Telephos' *kline*) which, owing to the position of the woman, could not have been part of panel 43.

The physical peculiarities of panel 43 may indicate that it was not an end slab, but was designed as it was to solve some technical problem (e.g. positioning on the frieze) with which the designer had to deal - a problem that we will probably never discover. Consequently, it may be possible to suggest that panel 43 depicted queen Klytaimnestra looking over at Telephos' arrival at the court (panel 36), from inside the palace (e.g. through a window or a porch) - a suggestion that may fit with the literary tradition suggesting that Klytaimnestra was somehow involved in Telephos' plan to seize Orestes.⁸²

Cult ceremonies

Panels 44-46 have been interpreted as "foundation of cults" and "cult ceremonies". Heres has suggested the possibility that the foundation of Dionysos' cult in Pergamon is depicted.⁸³ Her argument rests on the hypothesis that the two seated male figures in panels 44 and 46 are satyrs. She further claims that the mountainous setting, the female figure

⁸⁰If one wishes to follow Euripides' version (Austin 103) Telephos appeared as a beggar; cf. Aristophanes' description of a beggar's rags in the scene from the *Acharnians* where Dikaiopolis begs Euripides to lend him the rags he used for Telephos in his eponymous play (418-448; dated to ca. 425 BC). There is no iconographic record of Telephos' arrival in Argos. However, in the scenes at the altar he is depicted either: dressed as a traveller (*petasos*, *staff*, *embades*); cf. e.g. *LIMC* s.v. Telephos nos. 51, 62.; or he is wearing the traditional Greek soldier's *chlamys*; cf. e.g. *LIMC* s.v. Telephos nos. 63, 72-75. There is only one surviving example of Telephos in the court of Agamemnon (the moment before the altar scene) where he is wearing traveller's clothes, has a beard, and a Phrygian cap; *LIMC* s.v. Telephos no. 51 (Cup by the Telephos painter, dated to ca. 475-450 BC, Boston MFA 1898.931, from eastern Etruria).

⁸¹See above p. 96, n. 12.

⁸²Hyginus *Fab.* 101; For the fragments of Euripides' *Telephos* see, C. Collard, M.J. Cropp, K.H. Lee, *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays*, vol. 1 (England: Aris and Phillips Ltd 1995) frgs. 699, 714, p. 52 fr. 714, see also p. 19 (2).

⁸³See above p. 104 n. 53.

holding torches, and the panther/lion sitting on the fluted column in panel 44 are all elements of Dionysos' iconographic repertory.

However, the evidence for a Dionysiac identification seems inconclusive. The satyrs upon which she has based her theory do not have any of the expected satyr-like qualities. Their bodies are strong and athletic unlike the youthful, almost ephebic, representation of satyrs in Greek art after the 4th century BC (Fig. 64).⁸⁴ These figures even resemble in posture the Terme Boxer (Fig. 65).⁸⁵ They lack the bodily hair and pointed ears which are characteristic of satyrs and indicate their bestial nature.⁸⁶ Their attitude has nothing of the frenzied character of satyrs. Instead, they are sitting quite peacefully, surrounded by two females and a small maid-servant who have none of the "maddened" qualities of Dionysos' maenads.

The scene is taking place in a rocky area, therefore presumably outside the city-walls. It has been reconstructed to follow Telephos' healing scene. Considering the close affinity between the hero Telephos and the god Asklepios in Pergamon, and the importance of the latter's sanctuary throughout Asia Minor, one might argue that the artist would have emphasised the god's importance in Pergamon on the frieze.⁸⁷

As noted above, the sanctuary of the god Asklepios was located outside the city walls. It was surrounded on three sides (east open) by a Doric colonnade. On the west the colonnade led by a small flight of steps to a long portico known as the Doric Hall (*Dorische Halle*). Radt argues that it quite probably formed part of the sacred gymnasium mentioned by Aelius Aristides.⁸⁸ The cultic centre of the sanctuary is the so-called "rock-bar" (*Felsbarre*) located in the north/west.⁸⁹ According to Aristides (*Or.* 39.1, 6), there was in the middle of the sanctuary, springing from the steps of Asklepios' temple, a Sacred Well, whose water was used for drinking and bathing.⁹⁰

The bearded male in panel 44 is dressed in a loose robe, exposing his right side; on his head he wears a crown (Cat. no. 64.2). This particular attire is reminiscent of

⁸⁴Fig. 64: Satyr with wine skin (64.1), copy of an original of the 3rd or 2nd century BC, Naples 5628; Satyr in the Uffizi (64.2) collection 220, copy of an original of the 3rd or 2nd century BC; Smith (1991) figs. 156, 157.2.

⁸⁵Fig. 65: Terme Boxer, 3rd/2nd century BC, Rome National Museum Terme 1055; Smith (1991) fig. 62.

⁸⁶Cf. e.g. Ridgway figs. 159a-d, 160a-b; Pollitt figs. 139, 141-143

⁸⁷See above pp. 107-108.

⁸⁸W. Radt, *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten, Funde und Erforschung einer antiken Metropole* (Cologne: DuMont 1988) 254 pl. 119. C. Jones "Aelius Aristides and the Asklepieion" in *Pergamon: The citadel of the gods* (1998) 72.

⁸⁹Of the several structures in it the most important was the temple of Asklepios located on the most southerly spot; de Luca, 11.2 Tafel 2b-c, 3a-b.

⁹⁰The final publication of the Asklepieion identifies the Sacred Well with the so-called "rock-well" (*Felsbrunnen*) in the western part of the sanctuary; de Luca, 11.2 Tafel 5c; Jones 72. However, this well seems to have been used only for bathing not for drinking, and it probably also provided the mud for the ritual daubing mentioned by Aristides; *Or.* 48.74-75, 77; O. Deubner, *Das Asklepieion: Kurze vorläufige Beschreibung* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft 1938) 36; Jones (1998) 72. Consequently, Radt argued that the Sacred Well must have been the "drawing well" (*Schöpfbrunnen*) situated 20m to the east of the "rock bar"; Radt (1988) 254 pl. 118.

representations of the god Asklepios.⁹¹ An inscription from Pergamon, dated to the 2nd century BC, records that the priesthood of Asklepios and the other gods residing with him (Hygieia and other members of the Asklepiad family) should be hereditary in the family of Asklepiades son of Archias (the cult's founder), and that the priest should wear a crown at all times.⁹² Aristides also informs us that processions and a festival of Asklepios in Pergamon took place at night in torchlight - a testimony that could possibly explain the young female carrying torches in panel 44.⁹³

Even more interesting is Pausanias' statement (5.13.3) that those who wished to sacrifice to Telephos at the Kaikos valley had to purify themselves in water before making offerings at the temple of Asklepios. In this context one might expect the hero Telephos to do just that. Upon his return to Pergamon from Argos, where he was healed (Cat. no. 61), Telephos was probably depicted (missing panels) making a sacrifice to the god Dionysos whom he had offended at the Kaikos valley. Then he probably went to the temple of Asklepios and, after purifying himself by bathing in the water from the Sacred Well, proceeded to make offerings to the god.

What is probably depicted in panels 44-46 is Telephos dressed as a priest of Asklepios (panel 44) getting ready to make offerings of libations and frankincense to the god (missing panel).⁹⁴ The naked male figures in panels 44-46 were probably members of his retinue or the court depicted after the ritual bathing. The Doric column topped by a panther/lion in the background could also be a further allusion to the cult of Asklepios in Pergamon; for a number of fragments of panthers and griffins have been found in the Asklepieion.⁹⁵

A different explanation could be that, instead of Telephos as the priest of Asklepios and worshippers participating at a purification ritual, the family of the god is depicted: Asklepios in panel 44 followed by one of his three daughters (Iaso, Akeso, or Panakeia), then his two sons Machaon and Podaleirios depicted seated in panels 44 and 46, surrounded by Hygieia (centre) and the other two daughters of Asklepios.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the evidence is lacking to make this identification completely certain.

Telephos' tomb scene

In panel 50 (Cat. no. 67) Heres suggests that "an altar is being erected".⁹⁷ She assumes that the structure upon which the two standing males seem to be working is an altar. From what survives of the slab (Cat. no. 66-67), the structure appears to be rectangular with a moulding at the rim of its cornice. Its lower part is not visible. The two

⁹¹AvP 7 nos. 188-190, 192-194; LIMC II (1984; B. Holtzmann) s.v. Asklepios; C. Kerényi *Asklepios: Archetypal Image of the Physician's Existence*, tr. R. Manheim (New York: Pantheon Books 1959) figs. 31, 49-51, 52.

⁹²IvP no. 251 ll. 5-12, see also above p. 107 n. 74 (Archias).

⁹³Or. 23.26; 47.6; Edelstein I 193-194.

⁹⁴On the evidence of libations and frankincense being offered to the god Asklepios see Edelstein I 194 n. 11.

⁹⁵AvP 11.4 Tafel 60 S 92, 68 S 89a.

⁹⁶Cf. e.g. Kerényi figs. 15, 47.

⁹⁷Heres (1996) 93 fig. 17; (1997) 112.

standing figures seem to be placing a heavy cap-stone over it. There are two striking elements in this scene that seem to have been ignored. The first is that altars, and especially rectangular altars, are monolithic structures which did not require cap-stones but had a metal fire-pan to protect the surface of the stone during sacrifice.⁹⁸ Secondly, the posture and attitude of the female figure in panel 49 recalls the seated females on Attic grave reliefs (Fig. 66).⁹⁹ Moreover, for a scene that is meant to depict the creation of an altar and subsequent foundation of a cult, there is apparently no cultic activity involved. To overcome this problem Heres suggests that the absence of cultic reference can be explained as the artist's intention to depict artisans and craftsmen at work, a mark of his interest in the activities of everyday life and craft, like the construction of Auge's boat. Her interpretation, in my view, sits poorly with the significance of the frieze for the Attalids and Pergamenes (see Chapter 5). Furthermore, in panels 11, 1, 44-46, which seem to be related to the cult of a god or a goddess, the deep piety and reverence appropriate to a cult are prominent. In panels 49-50 they seem to be absent.

Finally, the most striking feature is the appearance of a bird in panel 49 (Cat. no. 66.2). Its beak and talons do not survive and therefore its identification has to depend entirely on wings and tail and on its possible relation to the scene. A very interesting votive relief from the Asklepieion of Pergamon dating ca. 100 BC, depicts the heroized Telephos in his chariot approaching an adorant (Fig. 63).¹⁰⁰ Under the horses is a snake and behind Telephos is a bird, very similar to the bird in panel 49 (Cat. no. 66.2).

Apart from the snake or a puny winged figure, the bird is another very common means of representing the soul.¹⁰¹ Probably a very interesting comparable case where a bird might be associated with the soul of the dead is in a statement of Dio Cassius (54.34-42) referring to the funeral of Augustus. According to the testimony, from the burning remains of the deceased emperor, an eagle ascended to the sky signalling Augustus' *apotheosis*.

Considering the strong influence of funerary art in these two panels and the fact that the rectangular structure seems unlikely to be an altar, it may be suggested that what is represented here may be the site of Telephos' grave. Even though, I could not find any iconographic parallels of such motif, it is interesting to note that plain and unadorned

⁹⁸Yavis 132.

⁹⁹Fig. 66: Stele of Ampharete, end of 5th century BC, found outside Dipylon 1932, Athens National Museum; K.F. Johansen, *The Attic grave reliefs of the Classical period* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1951) 17-18, fig. 4. See also below Fig. 76, n. 172.

¹⁰⁰See above n. 77 p. 108.

¹⁰¹Cf. e.g.: (Bird) Belly amphora by the painter of the "Vatican Mourner", Eos mourns Memnon, in the Vatican Museum 350, from Vulci, second half of the 6th century BC; Double neck amphora by the Diosphos Painter, Eos mourns Memnon, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York 56.171.25, Fletcher Fund, ca. mid.5th century BC; Boardman *ABFV* nos. 134, 271. White ground Lekythos, by the Painter of Athens, Athens National Museum 1826, second quarter of the 5th century BC; Kurtz no. 25.4. (Winged figure): Lekythos by the Sabouroff painter, "Hermes, Charon and souls". first half of the 5th century BC, Athens National Museum 1926; Lekythos by the Tymbos Group, "Charon and soul", Oxford 547, second half of the 5th century BC; Boardman *ARFVC* nos. 255, 259. For the various theories and controversies on the shapes of the soul see: J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983); C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Reading Greek death: to the end of the Classical period* (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1995) and bibliography.

rectangular structures like the one depicted in panel 50, have been found marking the graves of individuals since the 4th century BC.¹⁰²

A further reason to associate this scene with Telephos' burial is the frieze's narrative balance. On the n/west spur wall and up to panel 4, the frieze narrated events leading to Telephos' birth; panels 5-8 narrated events immediately after his birth and during early childhood. The entire east frieze depicted Telephos' youthful exploits, whereas the south wall started with the events at Argos and ended with Telephos' heroization on the s/west spur wall. As the entire north wall was dedicated to the hero's conception and birth, the whole frieze would have been perfectly balanced if the south wall dealt with the events just before and after his death.

Such an interpretation may be further supported by the rest of the panels' details and the subject of the final two panels (47-48). The standing figures in panel 50 have been identified as workmen erecting the altar of a god.¹⁰³ However, the central figure, dressed in a short chiton and chlamys, recalls Telephos' companions in panel 16 (Cat. no. 43). He is inappropriately dressed for manual work.

If the sealing of Telephos' tomb is represented here, then the presence of the clothed figure together with the semi-naked figures has a different interpretation. The citizen is probably one of Telephos' companions sealing his tomb with the aid of the second figure. The figure to the right approaching from behind with his hands raised above his head is probably not a workman. Unlike the obvious workmen constructing Auge's skiff in panels 5-6 (Cat. no. 35), this figure (and probably also the figure behind the tomb) is wearing a cloth wrapped around his waist. Male figures depicted in this way are represented in many vase-paintings where they served as acolytes at sacrifices (Fig. 67).¹⁰⁴ It is possible that what the designer wished to represent here is the burial of the hero Telephos and sacrifices or offerings brought over to his tomb in, what could have been, a *kanoun*.

The two reclining figures in the foreground have probably correctly been identified as river-gods participating in or witnessing the burial and the offerings. Their presence is not at all peculiar, if one considers that the Attalids regarded Telephos as founder of Pergamon; the two river gods of Pergamon (Ketios and Selinos) pay their respects to the founder of the city. The reclining figure on the right has his head turned right towards the scene taking place in the following panel. That on the left, only a part of whose leg and left hand survive, seems to be holding a cornucopia by his knee (Cat. no. 67.1) - a characteristic attribute of river gods.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰²W.K. Kovacovics, *Die Eckterrasse. An den Gräberstrasse des Kerameikos* Band 14, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 1990) p. 84, 106-107, Tafel 14, 22, 27.1.

¹⁰³Heres (1997) 101.

¹⁰⁴Fig. 67: (67.1) Attic red figure bell crater, by the Nikias Painter, ca.425-400 BC, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York 41.162.4; (67.2) Attic red figure bell crater, by the Oinomaos Painter, "Oinomaos sacrificing", ca. 400-375 BC, in Naples National Museum 2200; van Straten figs. 125, 42. See also Fig. 60.2 n.60.

¹⁰⁵Cf. e.g.: coin from Trajan's period (98-117 AD) depicting on the reverse the reclining river god Kaikos (on the right) holding with his right hand a cornucopia over his knee (Wroth pl. 28.13); coin from the Hadrianic era (118-138 AD) depicting on the reverse the reclining river god Keteios (on the left) holding a reed and an overturned urn (Wroth pl. 28.18).

In panel 49 are the remains of a female depicted inside a naiskos-like structure. If the following scene (panel 50) depicted the burial of the hero Telephos, then the figure in the naiskos could probably be identified as his mother Auge. According to Pausanias, Auge's burial mound can still be seen in Pergamon; "it is a mound of earth enclosed by a stone basement and surmounted by a bronze figure of a naked woman" (8.4.9).¹⁰⁶

Heroisation scene

If these two panels can be explained in this way as funerary, then it is quite likely that the female in panel 47 and the woman looking back at something, to which the heroized Telephos is pointing to, could also be explained as part of this funerary context. It has already been suggested that the heroized Telephos was pointing at the epiphany of his divine protector Dionysos who had come to confirm Telephos' heroisation.¹⁰⁷ Such a motif would not be unconventional in Greek art. Perhaps the best example is the depiction of heroized Herakles reclining on a couch approached by his divine protector Athena (Fig. 68).¹⁰⁸ It may be that the similarity between the two motifs is intentional; like Herakles, his son Telephos was finally heroized.

The frieze's arrangement

This new evaluation of the south wall offers for the Telephos frieze a more balanced composition (Foldout 3). The NW spur wall and the north wall depicted events prior to and just after Telephos' birth, and probably his early childhood: the narrative probably began with the (now missing) oracle of Aleos and the arrival of Herakles at the king's court (panel 2). The hero (panel 3) sees Auge (panel 11) at the sanctuary of the goddess Athena performing a religious draping of the ancient image. Their relationship is hinted at by the bare breast of Auge. The panels following the meeting probably depicted the birth and exposure (panel 4) of the infant Telephos on Mt. Parthenion. Auge's punishment (panels 5-6) and her arrival at the shore of Mysia guided by Dionysos' sacred dolphin (panel 10) follows. The remaining panels on the north wall depict Herakles' discovery of Telephos suckled by a lioness (panel 12) and the child's upbringing by nymphs.

The east side depicts Telephos' youth and heroic exploits: his upbringing by the shepherds of king Korythos (panel 9); his voyage to Mysia in search of his mother Auge (panels 13-14, 32-33); his war against Idas (panels 16-18); his near marriage to his mother Auge, averted by the snake and their consequent recognition (panels 20-21); the invasion of Mysia by the Greeks including the death and funeral of Hiera (panels 22-24, 51, 25-29); Telephos' wounding by the spear of Achilles achieved through the intervention of

¹⁰⁶Heres suggested that the burial of Auge is depicted in panel 51 because according to Pausanias her tomb was located in the city's market-place; (1996) 94. However, Pausanias' statement only mentions that the tomb could be seen in Pergamon, making no mention of the market-place.

¹⁰⁷See above p. 104 n. 55.

¹⁰⁸Fig. 68: Belly amphora, by the Andokides Painter, dated to ca. 510 BC, from Vulci, Munich Antikensammlungen 2301; Boardman *ABFV* fig. 161.

Dionysos (panels 30-31); Telephos' oracle concerning his cure and finally his trip to Argos (panels 1, 34-35).

The re-evaluated south wall and the s/w spur wall depicted the events at Argos, followed by the hero's later life, death and heroization: arrival at Argos and the court of Agamemnon overlooked by Klytaimnestra (panels 36, 43); the scene at the altar where Telephos threatens to kill the infant Orestes (panel 42); the reconciliation between Telephos and Agamemnon signifying agreement to his being healed (panels 37-38); the actual healing overlooked by the Argive princes (panels 38-40); cultic scenes at the sanctuary of Asklepios (panels 44-46); burial of the hero Telephos and sacrifices offered at his tomb (panels 49-50); the (now missing) epiphany of Dionysos; and finally women running to the heroized Telephos (panels 47-48).

3. The iconographic tradition of the myth

References to the life and deeds of the hero Telephos are found scattered from Homer's *Odyssey* (8th century BC), to the work of Tzetzes (12th century AD).¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately, however, there is no one complete account of the Telephos myth, while the evidence, both literary and iconographic, is often conflicting. The first to study the iconographic and literary tradition of the myth was Robert.¹¹⁰ The most recent and thoroughly compiled work was written by Strauss in 1988.¹¹¹ For the purpose of the current study it is essential to present the evidence (iconographic and literary) that might have some bearing on the understanding of the Pergamene frieze.

We are aware of no previous examples, either literary or iconographic, that present, in such a comprehensive manner, the life and deeds of the hero Telephos. In fact, the Pergamene frieze is our only extant comprehensive representation of the myth. In the earlier iconographic tradition the same elements of the myth are depicted over and over again: Auge's seduction by Herakles; Herakles' discovery of the infant Telephos being suckled by a deer; the fight between Achilles and Telephos at the Kaikos battle; Telephos seizing baby Orestes at the altar; and finally the healing of Telephos by the rust of Achilles' spear.

From the events preceding Telephos' birth, the seduction scene was the most often represented. Three bronze mirrors dating between 350-300 BC are the first artistic

¹⁰⁹*Od.* 11.516-521; 8.72-82; Tzetzes *Anthehomeric* 268-85; Scholia on *Lykophron* 1249; *Chiliades* 12.951. The literary evidence prior to the altar's construction is quite fragmentary. The more detailed accounts concerning the hero's life and deeds appear after the Attalids and the Great Altar; c.f. e.g. Diodorus Siculus (6.33.7-12; 60-30 BC); Hyginus (*Fabulae* 100-101; 2nd century AD); Philostratos (*Heroikos* 23.24-23.30; 2nd/3rd century AD) etc. See below p. 118.

¹¹⁰See above p. 96 n 13.

¹¹¹M. Strauss, *Telephos. Voruntersuchungen zum Verständnis des Telephos-Frieses von Pergamon*, (Ph.D diss. University of Freiburg, 1988). See also *LIMC* 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos (Heres-Strauss); Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Mythos* et al. For a good synopsis on the iconographic tradition of the myth in relation to the Telephos frieze see Heres (1996) 95-98, (1997) 102-105.

representations of Herakles' drunken assault on Auge.¹¹² According to Heres, the union between Herakles and Auge on the Pergamene frieze was probably restricted to a more dignified encounter out of respect for their ancestor's (Telephos') parents.¹¹³ The literary tradition often conflicts with the iconographic representations: some writers suggest that the union was a love affair, others a drunken assault.¹¹⁴

A chalcedony engraved gemstone dating to ca. 480 BC is our first artistic evidence of Telephos being suckled by the hind.¹¹⁵ However, on the Telephos frieze (Cat. no. 38) the hero is suckled by a lioness instead of a hind. Considering the popularity of this aspect of the myth (Telephos suckled by a hind), it is intriguing to find here such a unique iconographic deviation.¹¹⁶

The killing of the Aleadai by Telephos is probably our earliest artistic reference to the myth. It comes from a late Korinthian aryballos in the Fogg Museum in Cambridge Mass., dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BC.¹¹⁷ Two figures are flanked by panthers - an animal sacred to Dionysos. The figure of Telephos is identified from the inscription at his side.

Telephos' wounding by the spear of Achilles was probably depicted on a red-figure calyx-crater by Phintias, dated between 525 and 510 BC.¹¹⁸ Patroklos on the left,

¹¹²British Museum in London (GR 1892.7-19.4), dated to ca. 325-250 BC, from Korinth (?); Athens National Museum, Stathatou Coll. 312, from Elis, dated to ca. 325-300 BC; München Antikensammlungen Slg. Loeb 45, dated to ca. 350-300 BC, from Greece; *LIMC* 3 (1986) s.v. Auge (Bauchhenss-Thüriedl) nos. 11, 9, 10 respectively, see also nos. 46-49.

¹¹³Heres (1997) 102.

¹¹⁴According to Hesiod's account (*Catalogue of Women* fr. 165), Auge was not seduced by Herakles in Tegea but she conceived by him in Mysia where she had been in the care of Teuthras; no reason is given as to why she was in Mysia. Yet a different account is given by Hekataios (fr. 29 *apud* Pausanias 8.4.9); 8.47.4). He states that Auge used to have intercourse with Herakles by a fountain to the north of the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea. The drunken assault is not recorded before Alkidamas' rhetorical exercise *Odysseus* (4th century BC). According to his account (14-16), Herakles, elated by the effects of wine, raped Auge, priestess of Athena Alea at Tegea.

¹¹⁵From Caesarea in Kappadokia, in the Abdruch München - Staatliche Museen A. 1474; *LIMC* 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos, no. 6 (Heres-Strauss). The literary tradition on this aspect of the myth is again conflicting. According to Hekataios (fr. 29 *apud* Pausanias 8.4.9) Telephos was not abandoned on Mt. Parthenion but when Aleos found Auge with child he put them both in the chest and cast them into the sea. They landed in Mysia and Teuthras married Auge. According to Alkidamas (*Odysseus* 14-16) Telephos was sold, together with his mother, to Karians who offered them to king Teuthras as a gift. The king married Auge and adopted Telephos. The earliest reference to the miraculous rescue of the baby Telephos by the hind and his discovery by his father Herakles comes from Euripides' play *Auge* (dated between ca. 414-408 BC) which unfortunately survives in sententious fragments; T.B.L. Webster, *The tragedies of Euripides* (London: Methuen & co Ltd., 1967) 238-240; A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 2 (Lipsiae, 1890) frs. 265-281.

¹¹⁶This is a question that will be discussed in Chapter 5 (pp. 154-155) as it is, perhaps, related to the significance of the altar for the Attalids. For more examples of Telephos and the hind see *LIMC* 7 (1994; Heres-Strauss) s.v. Telephos nos. 5-17 (Telephos and the hind) and 18-42 (Telephos discovers Telephos being suckled by the hind).

¹¹⁷Inv. no. 1960.302. J.H. Kroll, "Three Corinthian vases" *AK* (1968) 17-23. In the literary tradition, the murder of the Aleadai by Telephos is probably firstly hinted at in Sophokles' eponymous tragedy *Aleadai* (part of the *Telepheia* trilogy) dated between 468-458 BC; Radt *TGrF* (1977) fr. 87. The fragment has been interpreted as a jeer against Telephos uttered by one of the Aleadai which would finally lead to their death and the fulfilment of the oracle.

¹¹⁸*LIMC* 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos no.48 (Heres-Strauss); 3 (1986) s.v. *Diomedes*, no.7 (J. Boardman, C.E. Vafopoulou-Richardson). The invasion of Mysia by the Greeks and the wounding of Telephos by Achilles,

identified by an inscription, looks back at the bearded Diomedes, also identified by an inscription, who seems to be stooping over a body which has been thought to be that of Telephos. The tip of a spear and the top of a thyrsos, at the upper border above Diomedes, and the traces of a hand on a rock along with the inscription ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ are the only evidence for the identification of this scene as the wounding of Telephos.¹¹⁹ Stewart doubts that it represented Telephos' wounding because of the absence of Achilles; he believes that it depicted the wounding of Diomedes.¹²⁰

The first certain representation of Achilles wounding Telephos at the Kaikos battle appears on the west pediment of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea dating ca. 340 BC (Fig. 69).¹²¹ The sculptures' extremely fragmentary state gives only a hint of what was depicted.¹²² The composition on this pediment and the Pergamene frieze were very similar; Telephos on the left, Achilles on the right and Dionysos' springing vine in the centre. This similarity has already been noted by Stewart and Delivorrias, just as they also noted that Telephos on the Tegean pediment wears his father's lion-skin as a cap, whereas on the frieze he wears a Korinthian helmet.¹²³

One of the most popular iconographic motifs from the myth is Telephos at the altar, threatening the life of the infant Orestes. The first artistic reference to the scene is found on a red-figure pelike in the Chicago Painter's style dated ca. 450 BC.¹²⁴ In the second half of the 4th century BC, another aspect of the myth makes its first iconographic appearance: the healing of Telephos' wound from the rust of Achilles' spear. A bronze mirror from Bomarzo is our first extant artistic representation of this event (Fig. 62).¹²⁵ The scene is taking place in Achilles' tent. In the presence of Agamemnon, Achilles is scraping rust off his spear and onto Telephos' wound. The names of the heroes are inscribed.

Consequently, from the literary and iconographic tradition and up to the time of the altar's erection we may infer that the Greeks knew of a hero called Telephos, son of Auge and Herakles. He had been abandoned to die on Mt. Parthenion but was miraculously

achieved by the intervention of Dionysos, are already found in the epic cycle; Kypria fr.: fr. 20 Bernabé *PEG* (attributed to οἱ νεώτεροι).

¹¹⁹Bauchhenss-Thürleidl no.49.

¹²⁰Stewart (1977) 64.

¹²¹Fig. 69: Stewart (*Skopas*) frontispiece. For the date of the Tegean temple at ca. 340 BC, see Stewart (1977) 66-69, 80-81; (1990) 60, 182-183. For a summary of the various theories on the temple's date see N.J. Norman "The temple of Athena Alea at Tegea" *AJA* 88 (1984) 191-192.

¹²²For more information about the current reconstruction of the pediment see Stewart (1977) 53-57, 63-65.

¹²³Stewart (1977) 53-57; A. Delivorrias, "La Bataille du Caique au fronton ouest de Tégée" *BCH* 97 (1973) 111-135.

¹²⁴From Vulci, now in the British Museum in London E 382 (GR 1836.2-24.28); *LIMC* 1 s.v. Agamemnon no.11. Aischylos' play *Telephos* (almost nothing survives; first half of the 5th century BC) presented Telephos seizing the infant Orestes at the altar; Radt *TGrF* (1985) p. 343; H. Lloyd-Jones, *Aeschylos*, vol. II (London: Loeb Classical Collection, 1963) 461-2. The scene was also used in Euripides' eponymous play *Telephos* (dated to ca. 438 BC), and was notoriously parodied in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* (ll. 733-755, dated to ca. 411 BC); C. Austin, *Nova Fragmenta Euripidea* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 1968) fr. 135; Collard, Cropp and Lee, p. 35 fr. 727. For more examples see *LIMC* 7 (1994; Heres-Strauss) s.v. Telephos nos. 51-83.

¹²⁵See above p. 106 n. 69. Pliny (35.71; 25.4) testifies to the existence of a (now lost) painting by Parrhasios (450-400 BC) which depicted Telephos being cured by Achilles. The earliest literary reference to the event is found in the epic tradition; Kypria fr.: 41 Bernabé *PEG*, 32 Davies *EGF*; cf. also fr. 22 Bernabé (attributed to οἱ νεώτεροι).

saved by a deer. Herakles discovered him in the wilderness and the hero grew up to kill his uncles and thus fulfil the oracle given to Aleos. He became king of Mysia and repelled the Greeks when they invaded Mysia mistaking it for Troy. He was wounded by Achilles' spear at the Kaikos battle through the intervention of Dionysos and, after receiving an oracle from Lykian Apollo, he ventured to Argos to be cured by the rust of Achilles' spear. He then goes on to fulfil the oracle given to Agamemnon by guiding the Greeks to Troy.¹²⁶

In many respects, the Pergamene frieze is the first iconographic testimony to other elements of the myth that were either never depicted before, were known from now lost literary evidence, or were completely new, perhaps specifically Pergamene elaborations. Details of the myth, such as the oracle given to Telephos concerning his cure (Cat. no. 56) and the punishment of Auge (Cat. no. 35), although known to us from earlier literary sources, were never depicted, at least as far as we know, in art.¹²⁷ At the same time, the Pergamene frieze provides us with the iconographic details of the hero's life that do not appear elsewhere in either art or literature, before the Attalids and the Great Altar. The hero's bucolic upbringing, the war against Idas, his marriage to Auge and their recognition caused by a gigantic snake, along with his marriage to Hieria, and some of the events at the Kaikos battle (i.e. Hieria's death and funeral, and the death of his allies Heloros and Aktaios), are all details of the myth that are first encountered on the Pergamene frieze.¹²⁸ Consequently, this gives rise to the very important question whether the altar and the Attalids had any influence on the later literary accounts which incorporate these elements of the story.¹²⁹

¹²⁶The oracle given to Agamemnon that they will be guided to Troy by Telephos is hinted in Homer's *Odyssey* 8.72-82 but is explicitly stated in the Kypria; 41 Bernabé *PEG*, 32 Davies *EGF*; cf. also fr. 22 Bernabé (attributed to οἱ νεώτεροι).

¹²⁷The oracle to Telephos concerning his cure first appears in the epic cycle (Kypria: 41 Bernabé *PEG*, 32 Davies *EGF*; cf. also fr. 22 Bernabé (attributed to οἱ νεώτεροι), the punishment of Auge (cast adrift in a chest) in Hekataios (fr. 29 *apud* Pausanias 8.4.9; 8.47.4). A silver coin from Elaia (Pergamene port) dated to ca. 161-180 AD, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna depicting on the reverse Auge coming out of the chest after landing at the shore of Mysia, is the only other surviving reference related to the punishment of Auge; *LIMC* 3 (1986) s.v. Auge no.26 (Bauchhenss-Thürdiedl). The scene is comparable to Danae's punishment (cast adrift in a chest along with her son Perseus); cf. *LIMC* 3 (1986) s.v. Danae (J.J. Maffre); for literary sources on the punishment of Danae see e.g. Apollodoros (2.4.1), Hyginus (*Fab.* 63), Horace (*Odes* 3.16.1).

¹²⁸Telephos' bucolic upbringing and his marriage to Teuthras' daughter (called Agriope by Diod. Sic. and Hieria by Philostratos) first appear in Diodorus Siculus (4.33.7-12; 60-30 BC); the war against Idas in Hyginus (*Fab.* 100; 2nd century AD) along with the hero's marriage to Auge and the recognition scene with the gigantic snake; the first detailed account of the Kaikos battle with the death of Hieria in the hands of Nireus, her funeral, and the death of the Scythian brothers, allies of Telephos appears in Philostratos (*Heroikos* 23.24-23.30, 2nd/3rd century AD). According to the Greek Anthology (*Anthologia Pallatina* 3.2) one of the stylopinkia of the temple of Apollonis at Kyzikos (erected in her honour by her sons Eumenes II and Attalos after her death 175-159 BC), depicted a scene of recognition between Auge and Telephos; nothing survives.

¹²⁹See Chapter 5 pp. 173-175.

4. Current literature on the style of the frieze¹³⁰

The style of the frieze has been the object of study of many eminent scholars not only because of its narrative composition but also because of its distinctive differences in style and execution from the external Gigantomachy frieze. The frieze has been repeatedly studied for its composition, execution of drapery, treatment of body and facial expression, interest in detail and for the iconographic influences of earlier and contemporary art. As this thesis does not aim to provide yet another stylistic analysis of the frieze, only a brief summary of its most important features will be presented.

Drapery

One of the most interesting features of the Telephos frieze is the treatment of the drapery; and the most thorough study of it is that of Stähler (1966).¹³¹ He argued that the frieze's drapery is characterised by a playful elegance which, in conjunction with the body and its movement, offers a well-balanced composition. Thus, in panel 10 (Cat. no. 36) the animated slender folds of the drapery of king Teuthras and his retinue are indicative of the figures' movement as they gently outline the bodies. On the other hand, the execution of Auge's drapery in panel 6 (Cat. no. 35), with its concentrated folds under her elbow, has a more decorative effect.

In other cases (panels 11, 46; Cat. nos. 37, 65) drapery with dense heavy folds is used to conceal the body so that the figure's posture is hardly discernible. The bodies, voluptuous and round, enveloped in their garments acquire a gentle character as the concealed lower part is set off by the almost transparent treatment of the drapery on the upper part. One of the most interesting figures on the frieze, in terms of body and garment relationship, is the figure of the young female in panel 46 (Cat. no. 65). Her tender and small body seems to be entirely overpowered by the heavy swinging folds of her drapery.

In retrospect, it could be argued that, as on the Gigantomachy frieze, the drapery on the Telephos frieze incorporated both classical and Hellenistic traits.¹³² The transparent and clingy garments of king Teuthras and his retinue in panel 10 (Cat. no. 36) end in heavy folds that contrast with the figure's movement as if they have a life of their own. This late classical effect can be seen, for example, on the reliefs of the dancing maenads dated to ca.

¹³⁰For the use of the different elements of style as viewing techniques see Chapter 5 Part A, *Telephos frieze*, pp. 151-161.

¹³¹K. Stähler, *Das Unklassische im Telephosfries* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1966) 10-75. For more studies see: D. Pinkwart, Review of *Das Unklassische im Telephosfries* by K. Stähler, in *GGA* (1968); idem *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die "Musen des Philiskos"* (Kallmünz: Michael Lassleben, 1965) 108-118; H. Heres-von Littrow, "Untersuchungen zur Reliefgestaltung des Telephosfrieses" *FuB* 12 (1970) 113-114; (1996) 105-106; (1997) 115-116.

¹³²For a study on the treatment of the drapery from the archaic through hellenistic times see Carpenter 139-162 (Classical) 211-213 (Hellenistic); G.M.A., Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970) 61-73.

410-400 BC.¹³³ The drapery of the figures in Cat. nos. 35 (Auge) and 68 has been similarly treated.

An effect closer to the drapery of the high classical Parthenon frieze can be seen in Cat. nos. 35 (workmen), 38, 50, 58-61, 62 (figure of maid, cf. the Karyatids of the Erechtheion). The drapery falls gracefully, around the contours of the body, with no effort at movement. This decorative style contrasts with the late Classical and early Hellenistic treatment of drapery in Cat. nos. 32, 35 (male on the left edge), 43, 44, 46 (especially Auge), 56, 67. Characterised by deep grooves, thick folds, and masses of material that surround the body, this drapery style is first encountered on statues of the 4th/3rd century BC.¹³⁴

Finally, a particularly Hellenistic style is used in the drapery of the figures in Cat. nos. 40 (seated woman), 65-66 (two standing females), and 69. The mantle is transparent not so much to reveal the body underneath but to display the folds of the chiton. This new style of drapery execution first appears at the end of 3rd beginning of 2nd century BC.¹³⁵

Different degrees of chisel work were also employed on the drapery of the Telephos frieze to express the mood of each episode. Deeply carved folds have been used in scenes characterised by tension and drama, whilst a lower relief and subtler carving have been used in scenes of mournful or religious character. Sweeping folds and pleats full of movement in scenes of motion or fleeing action, contrast with straight and motionless lines in scenes of static anticipation.

Lower relief is used on the drapery of the figures in panels 5-6, 44-46 (Cat. nos. 35, 40.1, 64.1, 65.1) in order to render sorrowful simplicity (panel 5-6) or religious reverence (panels 8, 44-46). The drapery of Auge and her maidservants lacks the massiveness of the folds of the drapery of the figures in panels 20, 47-48. Falling in simple folds, softly outlining the figure's body, the drapery contributes to the quiet and mournful mood of the scene. Tragic anticipation of the doom that will befall them is just hinted at in the unnaturally animated folds of the lower part of Auge's drapery. Auge is seated on rocks, completely veiled, awaiting the execution of her severe sentence and yet the lower folds of her drapery form windswept S-curves as if they have a life of their own, completely detached from the solemn mood of the scene.

In panels 11, 8, 44-46 (Cat. nos. 40.1, 64.1, 65.1) the drapery of the figures is deprived of motion as it falls in graceful folds covering the relaxed and quiet postures of the figures. Only the advancing figure of the maid-servant on the right of panel 46 displays motion in the lower parts of her chiton. In these panels, lower relief is used to complement

¹³³Roman copies, the originals are attributed to Kallimachos, Rome Palazzo dei Conservatori 1094; Stewart (1990) fig. 436, cf. also fig. 437. Cf. also L.A. Touchette, *The Dancing Maenad Reliefs: continuity and change in Roman copies*, Institute of Classical Studies (London: University of London 1995).

¹³⁴Cf. e.g.: Statue base from Mantinea, dated to ca. 330-320 BC, Athens, National Museum NM 217; Artemissia and Mausollos dated to ca. 360-350 BC, London, British Museum 1000, 1001 from the Mausolleum of Halikarnassos; Stewart (1990) figs. 494, 535 see also figs. 508, 521, 595.

¹³⁵Cf. e.g.: Statue of Polyhymnia, from Frascati, in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, copy of an original of the end of the 3rd century BC; Statue of a draped woman from the Giustiniani Collection, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Richter 72, figs. 54, 355 respectively. See also Smith (1991) figs. 111-114, 116-117.

the mood of the episode. It underlines the calmness and serenity of the religious scenes, and the sorrowful and mournful character of the punishment scene.

By contrast high relief is used on the drapery of the figures in panels 10, 20, 47, and 48 (Cat. nos. 36, 46.1, 68, 69.1-2); the use of massive folds heightens the mood of the scene. In panel 10 (Cat. no. 36) Teuthras and his companions arrive at the shore to meet Auge. The excitement of the moment is indicated not only in the gestures of the figures in conversation but also in the animated and swirling curves of the draperies. Characterised by a blowing effect, the folds move against the direction of the bodies allowing the lower parts of the figures to be revealed through almost transparent garments.

In panel 20 (Cat. no. 46.1) Auge is led to Telephos, her son whom she is about to wed; their union must not be allowed to take place. The tragedy and dramatic tension of the moment are captured in Auge's posture and drapery. Her posture and movement, though graceful, are characterised by reluctance and hesitancy. Her body-language is clearly in disagreement with Teuthras' decision to marry her to Telephos. Her upper torso seems to lean backwards while her relaxed left leg and the rigid right leg indicate her deep-rooted reluctance at this potentially tragic moment. She seems to advance unwillingly towards Telephos (probably depicted in the previous lost slab). She is supported and guided by the more determined figure of Teuthras. Auge's garment and loose, almost snake-like, hair have been executed in a higher relief than those of Teuthras indicating a restless and dramatic quality which probably aims to intensify the irony and drama of the moment. This panel is a characteristic example where the artist is using style to allude to the (forthcoming) events. The hesitancy in the posture of Auge and the intensity in the treatment of her hair and drapery seem to indicate that the marriage between the two is not a welcomed one. According to Smith, "Brides ... were deemed to be in a depressed state of mind (due to contemplation of imminent loss of virginity)".¹³⁶ This might indeed be true, but the iconographic record depicts veiled women in a pensive mood, where as in our case Auge is reacting with her body to the meeting with her intended groom.¹³⁷ In addition the loss of virginity, that might be preoccupying young brides, was clearly not a reason for Auge to appear reluctant. Thus, the reason behind her hesitant movement should be sought elsewhere.

Panels 47-48 (Cat. nos. 68, 69.1-2) form part of the scene of Telephos' heroization. The figure in panel 47 seems to be running away from something or someone who was depicted in the previous (missing) panel. Her movement is similar to the movement of maidens fleeing from scenes of violence or maenads overcome by divine mania. She is hastening towards the *kline* of the heroized Telephos in panel 48 where another female is

¹³⁶R.R.R. Smith, "Spear-won land at Boscoreale: on the royal paintings of a Roman villa" in *JRA* 7 (1994) 121.

¹³⁷C. Bérard, C. Bron, J-L. Durand, F. Frontisi-Ducroux, F. Lissarrague, A. Schnapp, J-P. Vernant, *A city of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece* tr. D. Lyons (New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1989) figs. 178-139. See also J.H. Oakley, R.H. Sinos *The Wedding in ancient Athens* (Madison 1993) with good bibliography on ancient weddings.

depicted looking towards the left at the image from which the female of panel 47 is escaping. This observation is further substantiated by Telephos' extended right hand, which points towards the lost panel, and by the extremely wide open hand of the female in panel 48. The emotions that have been building up throughout the narrative reach their climax at this scene of heroization. The tension and excitement is also conveyed by the treatment of the drapery. Executed in high relief, it is characterised by sweeping and flying curves (Cat. no. 68), massive folds and deeply cut grooves (Cat. no. 69).

A medium degree of relief is used in what I would call transitional panels: panels 16-18, 51, 36-40 (Cat. nos. 43-45, 50, 58-61). These panels form the transition from one climactic scene to another: panels 16-18 involve Telephos' arming for battle; panel 51 is the funeral of Hiera that has brought the battle to a halt prior to the wounding of Telephos; panels 36-40 prepare the ground for the excitement of the scene at the altar (panel 42). In each of these cases the spectator is brought to a state of "calmness" in preparation for the emergence of fresh emotions: the dramatic tension of the impending unlawful wedding, the tragic irony of the wounding, the terrible fear for the life of Orestes, and the doubtful issue of Telephos' cure. The treatment of the garments in the interim scenes, executed in a medium relief, is characterised by straight folds, softly animated with the movement of the figures. The excitement of the moment, if any, is only subtly indicated by the gestures and postures of the figures: in panel 16 Telephos' companions seem to be conversing; in panel 40 Telephos is just about to reveal his wound to the others.

Finally, the treatment of the garment of the kneeling female (Iphigeneia ?) in panel 42 (Cat. no. 62.2) seems to be a separate study on its own. Her kneeling posture, the frowning forehead and the clasping of the edge of her mantle, are indicative of the girl's agonising fear for the life of Orestes. Her garment, however, lacks the deeply cut curves of the drapery in panels 20, 47 and 48. Instead it is characterised by closely-spaced incision-like folds which together with the similar treatment of the girl's hair reveal a feeling of agitation and immense tension.

Treatment of the figure / expression

The nude bodies on the Telephos frieze, apart from Herakles in panel 12 (Cat. no. 38), have been treated in an individualised manner, taking into consideration their position and role in the scene. Hence, the bodies of warriors and figures engaged in manual labour have been rendered strong and muscular: Cat. nos. 35 (workmen in panels 5-6), 42, 48-49, 52-53, 57 (the bent figure of the male on board the ship in panel 34), 65 and 67 (the male figures lifting the cap-stone in panel 50). They are characterised by sharply pronounced muscles around their hips and abdomens.¹³⁸ This muscular treatment of the body is contrasted with the soft modelling of the young athletic bodies of Telephos and the young cup-bearer in panels 9 and 38 (Cat. nos. 41, 60). Their bodies strongly remind us of the

¹³⁸ Cf. with late 4th, early 3rd century BC examples: Dresden Athlete, copy of an original, in Dresden 235; Conservatori athlete, copy of an original, in Conservatori 1088; Lysippos' Apoxyomenos, Vatican 1185; Smith figs. 52, 53, 47 respectively.

bodies of the horsemen on the Parthenon frieze and other 5th century BC examples of soft classical modelling.¹³⁹ The mature bodies of Telephos and the Argive princes (panels 39-40, Cat. no. 61), and of the bearded male figure in panel 44 (Cat. no. 64) are distinguished by softer modelling of the musculature. Finally, as Heres noted, Herakles' body in panel 12 (Cat. no. 38) is characterised by extremely exaggerated musculature reminiscent of contemporary Hellenistic sculpture.¹⁴⁰

A similar individualism has been employed in the execution of the figures' heads.¹⁴¹ From the few surviving, one can clearly see the distinction between old age and youth, calmness and agitation in a fine blend of classical and Hellenistic modelling. For instance, the broad face of king Teuthras in panel 10 (Cat. no. 36) is characterised by pronounced cheek-bones and an expression of excitement which contrasts with the sombre and aged face of Agamemnon in panel 42 (Cat. no. 62). The heads of youths in panel 16 (Cat. no. 43) and Dionysos in panel 31 (Cat. no. 55) are oval shaped and have the softly modelled quality of 4th century BC heads.¹⁴² The head of the youth with side-burns (**Fig. 70**) is a fine example of the artist's interest in depicting age-distinctions. The first traces of maturity are apparent on the youth's face, though aspects of his expression still seem childlike.¹⁴³

Emotional and physical expression was employed to reveal physical effort and a variety of emotions. The state of emotions was rendered either by facial expression or through a variety of postures and gestures. The sculptor to experiment with facial expressions and depictions of emotion was Skopas and indeed, a Skopaic influence on the Pergamene heads has already been observed.¹⁴⁴ The face of Teuthras in panel 10 (Cat. no. 36.5) is characterised by excitement and anticipation at the news of Auge's arrival. His mouth is slightly open, his eyes wide, set deep in their sockets, his forehead slightly furrowed. He is rushing towards the place where Auge has landed with an eagerness that is shared by his companions. The figure of the attendant next to him turns toward him. His

¹³⁹For the Parthenon frieze, dated to ca. 442-438, see Boardman CS figs. 96.1, 96.11. Cf. also the figures of the Lapiths on the Parthenon Centauromachy metopes (dated to ca. 447-442, figs. 91.1-11), and the figures of youths on Attic grave reliefs dated between 420-400 BC (for e.g. figs. 152, 153, 159).

¹⁴⁰Cf. e.g. Laokoon group (**Fig. 43**), Roman copy of an original dated to ca. 200 BC, in Rome, (Vatican 1059, 1064, 1067); Blinding of Polyphemos, Roman copy of an original dated to ca. 200 BC, from Tivoli, (British Museum 1860); Smith, 143, 146.1, respectively. Herakles resembles in stance and execution Lysippos' Herakles (the Farnese Herakles), dated to ca. 320 BC, see below *Iconographic influences* and **Fig. 82**. Also compare it with the strong body of Zeus from the Gigantomachy frieze Cat. no. 20.

¹⁴¹For a study of the Telephos frieze heads see: D. Pinkwart, *Pergamon: Ausstellung in Erinnerung an Erich Boehringer* (Offenbach: Giese-Druck, 1972) nos. 14-16 (gives a characterisation of the frieze's heads); (1965) 124-125; Heres (1986) 50-52 with further reading, Heres (1996) 107-108; (1997) 118 with further reading.

¹⁴²Cf. e.g.: faces, of the: Marathon boy, dated to ca. 330 BC, Athens Br 15118; Antikythera youth, dated to ca. 340 BC, Athens Br 13396; Boardman CS figs. 42, 43 respectively, see also figs. 23.4, 61-62 etc.

¹⁴³**Fig. 70**: attributed to the Telephos frieze, Berlin Staatliche Museen Inv. no. TI 125 (Photo by A.S. Faita).

¹⁴⁴See Chapter 3 p. 93. On the art of Skopas see Stewart (1977); on the influence of Skopas' art on the Pergamene frieze see Winter (1908) 62-63, no. 42, pl. XI; Hansen 315. Compare the heads from the pediment of Athena Alea at Tegea (dated to ca. 340 BC) with the heads of the Telephos frieze; Stewart (1990) pls. 7-8, 14, see also *Der Pergamon Altar* (1997) 168-169, Cat. nos. 29-32.

raised right hand and his face, which is directed towards Teuthras, suggest that he is probably the one who brought the news of Auge's arrival. The slightly forward lean of his upper torso reveals his excitement and eagerness to guide the king to the place.

In panel 32 (Cat. no. 42.2) a youth is about to get on board ship, at the same time handing over a heavy load to the figure already on board. The physical effort he employs to lift the weight is rendered by his furrowed brow as well as the pronounced muscles on his left calf and abdomen (Cat. nos. 42.4, 11.8). Panel 30 (Cat. no. 54) depicts Telephos wounded by Achilles through the intervention of Dionysos. Telephos' mouth is half open and his eyes, filled with awe and astonishment, are directed at the figure of Dionysos behind Achilles.¹⁴⁵

In panel 42 (Cat. no. 62) Telephos has seized the infant Orestes and is threatening him with his fists. Fear for Orestes' life is depicted on the faces of Agamemnon and the kneeling female (Iphigeneia ?; Cat. nos. 62.4, 62.3). Their deep set eyes and frowning foreheads as well as the gasping mouth of Agamemnon all reveal their agonising fear. The kneeling maiden grasps the edge of her cloak with her left hand in tortured anticipation of what is to come. The tension of the moment is equally revealed in the pronounced muscles of Telephos' body. His arms and abdomen lack the soft quality of a relaxed body. They are fully alert, ready to carry out his threat unless Agamemnon consents to his cure.

Excitement was also rendered through posture and gesture of figures. In panel 16 (Cat. no. 43.1) the two central figures seem to be engaged in conversation. They form part of the scene in which Telephos is armed by his (as yet unrecognised) mother Auge. Judging from their costumes and footwear, they are Telephos' companions. They too are preparing to go into battle against Idas. The figure in the centre leans forward and raises his right hand in a gesture of speech. Similar excitement and tension is apparent in the wide open left hand, the outstretched right arm and the twisted pose of the female in panel 48 (Cat. no. 69).

Interest in detail

As on the Gigantomachy frieze one of the most interesting features of the Telephos frieze is the minute attention to detail. Although only one third of the frieze's original length survives, it is still possible to appreciate the care that has been lavished on meticulous details of costume, footwear, helmets, furniture, and landscape elements.

Different types of costume distinguish people of different status. Regal and matronly figures are differentiated from their companions by the richness and elaborate nature of their garments. For instance, queen Neiaira and Auge in panels 3 and 20 (Cat. nos. 33, 46 respectively) wear long chitons and are enveloped in their cloaks, which form thick and elaborate folds across their waists and thighs. On the other hand, Auge's maid-servants in panel 5-6 (Cat. no. 35) and 17 (Cat. no. 44) wear sleeveless chitons, whose folds do not have the richness and thickness of Auge's and Neiaira's garments. Similarly,

¹⁴⁵See also Chapter 5, pp. 155-156.

maid-servants in panels 42 and 46 (Cat. nos. 62.2, 65.1) and the fleeing woman in panel 47 (Cat. no. 68) are dressed in long overgirt chitons contrary to the matronly figures in panels 45-46 (Cat. no. 65) and 48 (Cat. no. 69.1), who are enveloped in long rich cloaks.

Likewise, king Aleos in panel 5 (Cat. no. 35.1), Telephos in panel 1 (Cat. no. 56.1), Teuthras in panel 10 (Cat. no. 36.1), and the figure which is probably Agamemnon in panel 42 (Cat. no. 62.1) are differentiated from their companions by the richness of their garments; king Teuthras in panel 10 has an additional over-garment tied under his breast. The four workmen in panels 5-6 (Cat. no. 35) wear *exomides* (a garment that leaves the right arm and shoulder bare, having only one armhole for the left arm) which identify them as artisans in contrast with Telephos' companions in panel 16 (Cat. no. 43.1) and the figures in panels 51, 36 and 38 (Cat. nos. 50, 58, 60), who wear short-sleeved chitons with chlamydes tied over their shoulders by means of a brooch.

Costume has been used not only as an indicator of social status and profession but also as a means to identify ethnic origin. Schrader firstly noticed that the long-sleeved chiton, a characteristic type of garment of Asiatic Greeks, is worn by king Teuthras and his attendant on the left in panel 10 (Cat. no. 36.1) and by the two figures on the left of panel 16 (Cat. no. 43.1); the second figure from the left in panel 16 (Cat. no. 43.1) also wears a Phrygian cap.¹⁴⁶ This type of clothing differentiates king Teuthras and his Mysian retinue from the mainland Greeks who wear short-sleeved chitons. The first time that Telephos is depicted on the frieze wearing ordinary citizen clothes is in panel 1 (Cat. no. 56). He is already king of Pergamon and is consulting Apollo's oracle on the cure for his wound. He wears here the same long-sleeved chiton that king Teuthras and his Mysian attendants wear in panels 10 and 16 (Cat. nos. 36, and 43).

The Pergamene interest in detail and realism is once again evident in the choice of contemporary footwear. Morrow was the first to study and distinguish the different types of footwear used on the frieze. She argued that the Greeks on the frieze were distinguished from the Mysians by their footwear. Four types of male footwear and one female can be identified on the frieze.¹⁴⁷

King Teuthras and his retinue wear a type of closed boots called *embades* with overhanging *piloi*.¹⁴⁸ This type can be seen on the Mysians in panels 10, 16, 18 (Cat. nos.

¹⁴⁶Schrader (1900) 121-122; Winnefeld 167-168; Bauchhenss-Thürleidl 49-50; Heres (1974) 199-200; (1997) 103. That the long-sleeved chiton was a characteristic costume of the Asiatic Greeks/foreigners is mostly confirmed by the artistic evidence; cf. Medea on a red-figure volute crater by the Talos painter (depicting the Death of Talos), from Ruvo, Jatta 1501 (from Ruvo), early 4th century BC.; Boardman *ARFVC* 324.2; M. Millington Evans, "Chapters on Greek dress", in *Ancient Greek dress* ed. M. Johnson (Chicago: Argonaut publishers, 1965) 56. See also Boardman *ARFVC* figs. 349, 380 (foreigners), 351, 392, 428 (Asiatic Greeks).

¹⁴⁷Morrow 109-110, 137-137. H.R. Goette, "Mulleus, Embas, Calceus", *Jdl* 103 (1988) 441-442.

¹⁴⁸ἐμβάδες: called so because one stepped into them (ἐμβάινειν) Aristophanes: *Ecclesiazousai* II. 506-9; Herodotos *Histories* 1.195; Pollux 7.85 (argues that it originated from Thrake). Their origin is unknown, probably from Boeotia or Thrake. As they were also used on stage they were considered part of Dionysos' attire. For piloi see Chapter 3 p. 87 n. 188. Even though the *embas* is not an oriental type of footwear, Morrow argues that it has been used here to identify Asiatic Greeks (due to its unknown origin and its use by Dionysos) as opposed to the traditional Greek *krepis* worn by the Greeks on the frieze.

36, 43, 45), and was probably depicted in panel 20 (Cat. no. 46); Teuthras wears calf-length boots, but the detail is badly damaged.¹⁴⁹

Plain *embades* with no piloi, just an overhanging flap at the front, are worn by the right figure in panel 51 (Cat. no. 50.2). The upper part of his boots is decorated with a row of arches. The figure on the left wears the high-strapped sandals called *krepides*, which formed part of Greek military uniform.¹⁵⁰ According to Philostratos' account (*Heroikos* 23.24-23.30), Hiera's funeral was attended by both Greeks and Mysians. The distinction in the footwear of the two figures in panel 51 suggests that the figure on the right is a Mysian mourner, that on the left Greek.¹⁵¹ The same *krepides* are worn by the male figures in panels 36 and 38 (Cat. nos. 58.1, 60.1). A different type of footwear is seen only on two occasions; in panels 16 and 17; Cat. nos. 43.2 (central figure) and 44. Both figures are companions of Telephos attending the scene where he is handed his weapons for the war against Idas. The figure in panel 12 (Cat. no. 43.1) wears a *pseudo-Attic* helmet, and both figures wear the traditional Greek military uniform consisting of a short chiton and a chlamys. They both have boots different from the ones described above. These are short, calf-length, close-fitting, with no decorative elements and a band of straps on the upper part to secure them tight against the leg. They are, presumably, battle boots.

Contrary to the fairly well preserved types of male footwear, hardly anything survives of the female types. The fragment of a small sandaled foot (Fig. 71) belongs stylistically to the frieze but cannot be placed to fit.¹⁵² It exemplifies the delicately made female *krepis*.¹⁵³ A comparable example is the fragment of the marble foot from the Antikythera wreck (Fig. 72).¹⁵⁴ The Pergamene fragment preserves toes and instep but lacks ankle and heel. However, the loop construction over the instep indicates that the heel was netted like that of the other *krepides*.¹⁵⁵ Long fine loops are pulled to the centre of the foot where they are fastened together by two knotted laces. A narrow strap covers the base of the first two toes and extends beyond the instep. This delicate and fine example of a female *krepis* probably belonged to a main female figure on the frieze indicating her high social status.

A similar interest in detail and realism is seen in the choice of pieces of armour. The muscle cuirass is depicted on the frieze in three occasions: panels 16 and 18 (Cat. nos. 43, 45; Telephos) and 22 (Cat. no. 48; Greek warrior). The muscle cuirass appeared in the

¹⁴⁹Cat. nos. 36.2, 43.2 (the two figures on the left), 45 (figure on the right): Morrow (136), suggested that the two figures on the left of panel 16 were Greeks, companions of Telephos and were designated as Mysians to indicate that they would remain in Mysia and thus become Mysians. Heres (1997, 100), however, argues that the two figures on the left side of the panel are not Greeks but Mysians, attendants of Teuthras, who welcomed Telephos in Mysia at the now missing panel before panel 16.

¹⁵⁰See Chapter 3 p. 87 n. 183.

¹⁵¹Morrow 110. Even though Schraudolph supports the view that Philostratos' account of the funeral is represented here, she disagrees with Morrow on the type of footwear. Instead, she is suggesting that both figures wear Greek laced boots; Schraudolph (1996) cat. no 12.

¹⁵²Winnefeld 201, no.63, fig.93.

¹⁵³Fig. 71: Berlin Staatliche Museen Inv. no. TI 355 (Photo by A.S. Faïta).

¹⁵⁴Fig. 72: Dated to ca. 225-175 BC; Morrow 112.

¹⁵⁵Cf. Cat. no. 60 for a netted heel of a *krepis*.

middle of the 6th century BC and its use continued till Roman times. It became part of the uniform of senior officers. It was either short, finishing at the waist, or long to cover the abdomen, and was worn over a short chiton with short sleeves. The cuirass was carefully shaped to fit the human torso and reproduced the main muscles of the chest and abdomen. It consisted of two bronze plates (front and rear) joined together by *epomides* (large straps permanently attached to the rear part of the cuirass). Leather *pteryges* were attached below the cuirass and over the chiton to protect the thighs.¹⁵⁶ On our frieze this type is worn by Telephos (Cat. no. 43, 45) and a Greek warrior at the Kaikos battle (Cat. no. 48). The difference between the two examples lies in the decoration. Telephos is wearing a more elaborately decorated example suitable for a commander heading the army in the war against Idas.¹⁵⁷

Dintsis identified four types of helmets on the frieze, each represented in the surviving parts by a single example: *pseudo-Attic* (panel 16, Cat. no. 43); *Korinthian* (panel 30, Cat. no. 54); *pseudo-Korinthian* (panel 28, Cat. no. 52); and *Konos* (panel 17, Cat. no. 45).¹⁵⁸ As noted in the Gigantomachy chapter, the *pseudo-Attic* and the *pseudo-Korinthian* helmets developed out of their respective local types (*Attic* and *Korinthian*) and were already in use during the 2nd century BC.¹⁵⁹

The *Korinthian* helmet made its appearance at the end of the 8th century BC on Korinthian pottery; hence the name. The helmet consists of one single metal sheet that covers the entire face allowing only a T-shaped opening for the eyes, nose and mouth. A crest was often attached on the top of the helmet and slowly (end of the 6th century BC) acquired a plume of horsehair for decoration. This type of helmet with slight modifications (e.g. elongated cheek-pieces) carried on being used until the 1st century BC; afterwards it appears mostly only in art.¹⁶⁰

The *Konos* type is a Hellenistic helmet. It made its appearance in the 2nd century BC. It resembled a metallic hat with downward-sloping brim, and a neck guard that was recessed inwards and then outwards. It also had two long cheek-pieces. From what survives of Telephos' helmet (panel 17), it had a frontlet that ended in volutes above the ear and crests decorated with plumes of horsehair. Examples of this type of helmet are found particularly in Asia Minor.¹⁶¹

In panel 25 (Cat. no. 51) the two fallen warriors are specifically identifiable as Scythians from the type of quiver carry. It is called *gorytos* and it was a combination quiver and bow-case; hence its distinctive shape to fit the bow. It is peculiar to the Scythian culture and made its first appearance in Greece during the 5th century BC.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶Snodgrass 90, 92; D.J. Symons, *Costume of ancient Greece* (London: Batsford Ltd., 1987) 41, fig. 62.

¹⁵⁷Notice the detail on the *epomides*, the tassels at the end of the bow, and the *pteryges*.

¹⁵⁸Dintsis vol. I, 113-133 (*pseudo-Attic*), 97-102 (*pseudo-Korinthian*), 87-95 (*Korinthian*), 77-85 (*Konos*).

¹⁵⁹See Chapter 3 p. 86.

¹⁶⁰Dintsis vol. I 87-95, Beil. 6; Snodgrass 51, 55-58.

¹⁶¹Stähler 25 ff.; Heres (1970) 103ff; Dintsis 77-85, Cat. no. 133, Tab. 32.10, Beil. 5, Map 9.

¹⁶²Snodgrass 82; E.H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge: University Press 1913) 67, 201 fig. 94.

The astonishing variety of furniture, altars, and cult statues is perhaps the best example of the Pergamene interest in detail. The first to study and distinguish, although not always convincingly, the type of furniture on the Pergamene frieze was Heres.¹⁶³

Three types of bed (*kline*) are depicted, unfortunately in a fragmentary state. On the right edge of panel 20 (Cat. no. 47) a single end-leg of the wedding bed survives, overlapping the pillar which separates the recognition scene from that of the wedding (Cat. no. 46). The type of bed depicted here (Cat. no. 46.2) is a couch whose rectangular legs are decorated with volutes and leafy patterns.¹⁶⁴ It is a purely Greek design. One of the earliest examples of this type of couch comes from a Late Corinthian hydria by the Damon Painter, in the Louvre (E 643, dated ca. 570-550 BC), depicting a scene with the dead Achilles on a bier surrounded by mourning Nereids.¹⁶⁵ This type of couch seems to have been used throughout the centuries down to the Hellenistic age with modifications adopted according to contemporary fashion. An example close to, but earlier than, the couch on the Telephos frieze is a funeral couch of the 4th/3rd century BC from a tomb at Pydna in Macedonia (Fig. 73).¹⁶⁶ The modified form on the Telephos frieze can also be seen on contemporary funeral couches from Sidi Gaber, near Alexandria.¹⁶⁷

A similarly contemporary type of furniture is depicted in panel 51 (Cat. no. 50.1). Only the top leg of Hiera's bier survives but it is enough to give us a clear picture of the type of bed - a couch with turned legs.¹⁶⁸ The earliest examples of this type in Greek art go back to the Geometric vases of the 8th century BC.¹⁶⁹ Its origins, however, seem to be Egyptian.¹⁷⁰ The cylindrical turnings were not introduced until about the end of the 5th or beginning of the 4th century BC.¹⁷¹ An example comparable to the later, developed form seen on the Telephos frieze is a stone couch from the Heroon of Kalydon dated in the 2nd century BC (Fig. 74).¹⁷² It carries similar cylindrical sharp turnings, with a mattress and a cushion carved in stone.

The third type of *kline* is depicted in panel 48 (Cat. no. 69.1). Not much of this is actually visible as it is covered by a long cloth. It rests on a base and has a mattress with

¹⁶³Heres (1996) 99-101; (1997) 107-109 with further bibliography.

¹⁶⁴G.M.A. Richter, *The furniture of the Greeks and Romans* (London: Phaidon Press, 1966) 58-61.

¹⁶⁵D.A. Amyx, *Corinthian vase-painting of the Archaic period* (California: University of California Press, 1988) vol. 2, 387-395, 428-429, 499, vol. 1 264; Richter (1966) 59, fig. 310. Cf. also later examples: Belly Amphora (Type A) by the Andokides Painter, depicting Herakles reclining on a couch with rectangular legs, dated to ca. 530-515 BC (Antikensammlungen, Munich, Inv. no. 2301) from Vulci; red-figure kylix by the Antiphon Painter, depicting a symposiast holding a *phiale* (Berlin, Staatliche Museum, Inv. no. 2303), dated to ca. 480s, from Vulci; Richter (1966) figs. 312-313, 320.

¹⁶⁶Fig. 73: Louvre Inv. no. 765; Richter (1966) 60, fig. 322.

¹⁶⁷Richter (1966) 61.

¹⁶⁸Richter (1966) 55-58.

¹⁶⁹Cf. e.g. Metropolitan Museum New York, Inv. no. 14.130.14, the subject depicted is a *prothesis*; Richter (1966) 55, fig. 293.

¹⁷⁰Richter (1966) 55.

¹⁷¹Cf. e.g. Apulian crater in the Hermitage (St. 855, Inv. no. 295), by the Dionysiac painter, early Ornate style, ca. 400 BC, depicting Ariadne and Dionysos riding on a mule led by a satyr with pipes; Richter (1966) 56, fig. 300.

¹⁷²Fig. 74: Richter (1966) 57, fig. 283.

sheets on which the heroized Telephos is reclining. It probably was a plain rectangular bed similar to the ones from contemporary "Totenmahl" reliefs.¹⁷³

The stools depicted in the banquet scene are similarly fragmentary (Cat. no. 61; panels 39-40). The princes do not recline as had been the custom since Archaic times but are depicted seated on stools. According to Heres this type of stool resembles examples of the fifth and fourth century BC, the aim being to give a deliberately historical or epic character to the scene.¹⁷⁴ However, a closer look at the leg shows that, contrary to Heres, this type of stool is contemporary with the frieze.

The best surviving example on the frieze is that on which Telephos sits in panel 40 (Cat. no. 61.4; see also description of Cat. no. 61). The leg type indicates that the stool was a *diphros* with four vertical legs and no back. The earliest examples appear in the 6th century BC on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, where deities are depicted on stools of this kind (Fig. 75).¹⁷⁵ A mid-5th century BC example comes from a white ground stemless kylix in the Louvre on which a Muse is depicted seated with a kithara.¹⁷⁶ In both these examples the most notable feature is the concave shape of both front and back legs. In the 4th century BC this form continued unchanged but with occasional straightening of the earlier concave parts (Fig. 76).¹⁷⁷ It is not, however, until the 2nd century BC that the *diphros* of this type developed into the form depicted on the Telephos frieze.¹⁷⁸ The marble stele of a certain Philoxenos from Rheneia, now in Athens, dated by its inscription towards the end of the 2nd century BC, shows the deceased seated on a *diphros* (Fig. 77).¹⁷⁹ Not only have the concave legs been straightened out as on the 4th century BC stele but the curves of the cylindrical turnings have been reduced to mere protuberances. Thus it is possible to conclude that the stools on which the heroes are sitting in panels 39-40 are not archaizing 5th/4th century BC examples but a developed 2nd century BC form of *diphros*.

Neiaira's throne (panels 2-3, Cat. nos. 32-33) is the only surviving example of a throne on the Telephos frieze. It is a throne with turned legs, lacking back and arm-rests (Cat. no. 33.1). Unlike the other furniture on the frieze, Neiaira's throne seems to be imitating earlier 5th/4th century BC examples (Fig. 78).¹⁸⁰ It is sturdier and more compact, lacking the multiple superimposed turnings which seem to characterize the later Hellenistic type (Fig. 79).¹⁸¹ The footstool under the queen's feet has four perpendicular legs and a

¹⁷³Cf. e.g. Grave relief from Samos, late 3rd, early 2nd century BC, Samos Tigani 307; Smith (1991) 225.

¹⁷⁴Heres (1997) 105-7.

¹⁷⁵Fig. 75: Richter (1966) 40, fig. 213.

¹⁷⁶Dated to ca. 483; Richter (1966) 40, fig. 214.

¹⁷⁷Fig. 76: Stele of Polyxene from Athens ca. 360-350 BC; Richter (1966) 41, fig. 219.

¹⁷⁸Richter (1966) 41, n.27, fig. 220.

¹⁷⁹Fig. 77: in the National Museum in Athens 1312; Richter (1966) 41, fig. 220.

¹⁸⁰Fig. 78: red-figure crater, by the Boreas Painter dated to ca. 460-450 BC, in the Ferrara Museum, depicting king Lykomedes of Skyros (Richter 1966, fig. 68, cf. also fig. 69). Cf. also Polydamas' base, from Olympia, dated to the later 4th century BC, Olympia Museum workshop of Lysippos (Smith 1991, fig. 46).

¹⁸¹Fig. 79: Macedonian silver tetradrachm, Hellenistic, Metropolitan Museum New York (05.44.392), gift of J. Pierpont Morgan 1905; Richter (1966) 22-23, fig. 75. Compare also with 4th century BC examples where the legs acquire a more concave shape: Seated deities on the east frieze of the Parthenon, British Museum, 442-438 BC; gravestone of Demetria and Pamphile in the Kerameikos Museum in Athens, late 4th century BC; Richter (1966) 20-21, figs. 70, 73 respectively.

plain top following earlier archaic examples.¹⁸² According to Heres this has a deliberate "archaizing" intention, distinguishing the events prior to Telephos' birth from the events after.¹⁸³

A variety of types has also been used in the representation of cult statues and altars.¹⁸⁴ In panel 11 (Cat. no. 37) Auge and three other females busy themselves around the cult-statue of Athena. The statue seems to rest on a low rectangular base, with outwardly extending sides and a moulding at the rim of its cornice.¹⁸⁵ In panel 1 (Cat. no. 56.1) Telephos receives the oracle about the cure of his wound from a statue of Apollo which seems to be standing on a round base with a moulding on its lower edge; the whole thing rests on a column. Both types were known in Hellenistic times.¹⁸⁶

Conversely, the cult-statue of Athena in panel 20 (Cat. no. 46.1) seems to rest on a pillar base which widens at the top. This has 5th century BC parallels and does not appear in Hellenistic times.¹⁸⁷ According to Heres, the choice of an "archaizing" statue base in panel 20 was intended to show that Athena's cult in Pergamon was a very old foundation.¹⁸⁸ In other words, the Pergamene claim that their cult of Athena was founded by Auge was reinforced on the frieze by depicting Athena's "archaic" palladion resting on an out-dated type of base in contrast to the other two statues on contemporary bases.¹⁸⁹

Panel 42 (Cat. no. 62) depicts the altar on which Telephos sits as he threatens to kill baby Orestes. The altar is of a rectangular monolithic type (Cat. no. 62.2), resting on a base with outwardly extending sides. The base is decorated with a similar moulding to that on the base of Athena's statue in panel 11. It has a flat top and its shaft is bare of decoration. This type of altar appeared in the 4th century BC and continued till Roman times (Fig. 80).¹⁹⁰

The elements of landscape have been exploited with a care for detail and location of action. They do not disturb the narrative but rather complement it by indicating the space where the action took place. Consequently, the plane trees in panels 4, 11, 12 (Cat. nos. 34, 37-38) place the episodes in the open-air; and the oak trees and laurel tree in panels 3 and 1 (Cat. nos. 33, 56) indicate that the action takes place at a sanctuary.

¹⁸²Richter (1966) 50, fig. 91.

¹⁸³Heres (1996) 99, 101; (1997) 107, 109.

¹⁸⁴For the structure in panel 50 (Cat. no. 67) see above section 2 *Telephos' tomb scene*.

¹⁸⁵Cf. with the statue of Nikeso from Priene, 3rd century BC; Smith (1991) fig. 111.

¹⁸⁶For illustrations of round bases see Margrit-Jacob-Felsch, *Die Entwicklung griechischer Statuenbasen und die Aufstellung der Statuen* (Waldsassen: Stiftland-Verlag Kommanditgesellschaft, 1969) 42-43, 68, 91.

¹⁸⁷Heres, (1997) 108 with further bibliography. For the cult image of Athena in Pergamon see Schalles (1985) 13-15.

¹⁸⁸Heres (1997) 108.

¹⁸⁹IvP no.156 ll. 23-24. For the use of archaizing motifs in the frieze and their effect on the viewer see also Chapter 5, pp. 153-154.

¹⁹⁰Fig. 80: C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars: Origins and typology* (Missouri: St. Louis University Press, 1949) 154-8, fig. 41; For a list of extant rectangular altars see Yavis, 242-244.

Stewart, however, believes that there is further symbolism in the choice of trees.¹⁹¹ In panel 3 (Cat. no. 33.3) Herakles stands before an oak tree, watching Auge who was probably depicted in the following (now-missing) panel. On the other hand, the scenes in panels 4 and 12 (Cat. nos. 34, 38) take place under plane trees. As the scene in panel 3 involved Auge, priestess of Athena Alea at Tegea, and the other panels Telephos' exposure on Mt. Parthenion and his discovery by his father Herakles, Stewart argues that the trees were intended to symbolise the two related gods: Athena (oak) and Dionysos (plane).

Stewart's argument can hardly stand, for there is no evidence to suggest that the oak and plane trees were sacred to Athena and Dionysos. Instead it would probably be more plausible to suggest that the choice of trees indicated only actual location.

Rock formations were rendered by recesses and projecting relief, thus forming a cave (panel 12; Cat. no. 38) for Telephos' lioness or rocky seats for the naked youths in panels 44, 46 (Cat. nos. 64-65). Realism and naturalism can be detected in the rich foliage of the trees and the sculptural quality with which curtains have been treated (panels 3, 21; Cat. nos. 33, 47) in indoor settings. Heres has observed that the hanging heavy folds of these curtains give the impression of rich, heavy material that might have been intended to receive a rich decorative pattern with the application of paint.¹⁹²

Iconographic influences on the Telephos frieze

One of the most striking features of the frieze is the more or less apparent iconographic influence of earlier or contemporary art on the Telephos frieze. As in Chapter 3 the more important of the iconographical influences and intertextual references may be mentioned here, and consideration of their overall effect undertaken in Chapter 5.

Von Salis was the first to observe and study the influences on the Telephos frieze of Attic votive and funerary art of the 5th and 4th centuries BC.¹⁹³ This influence becomes particularly apparent in panels 5-6 (Cat. no. 35). The figure of Auge depicted in profile view, enveloped in her cloak and resting her head on her hand, is a generic representation of sorrow and grief in Greek funerary art.¹⁹⁴ Her posture is very similar to that found on the funerary stelai of Polyxena (Fig. 76) and Ampharete (Fig. 66) or on the "mourning women" sarcophagus from the royal necropolis at Sidon.¹⁹⁵

Deceased females were often represented in funerary art seated, veiled and accompanied by one or two maid-servants who often carried jewellery boxes or other personal objects of the deceased. An example is the funerary stele of Hegeso (Fig. 81).¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹Stewart (1996) 115.

¹⁹²Heres (1997) 111.

¹⁹³von Salis 93-149; Hansen 314-315.

¹⁹⁴Neumann 136-142, for the behaviour/gestures of the deceased on funerary reliefs.

¹⁹⁵For Fig. 66 see above n. 99 p. 112, for Fig. 76 see n. 174 p. 129. The sarcophagus from Sidon is in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum 368 and is dated ca. 360-340 BC; Stewart (1990) fig. 539. Sorrow and grief for life's misfortunes could also be depicted on motifs not associated with funerary art like on the red figure Skyphos by the Penelope Painter, 5th century BC, from Chiusi 1831; Boardman *ARFVC* fig. 247.

¹⁹⁶Fig. 81: Grave stele of Hegeso from the Kerameikos, Athens National Museum 3624, ca. 400 BC; Stewart (1990) fig. 477. Cf. also Grave relief from Piraeus, ca. 380 BC, Athens National Museum 726;

As the servants on the grave reliefs carry or hand over to the deceased their jewellery box or other personal objects, so here on the Telephos frieze Auge's maid-servants carry a small box. It is as though Auge is being prepared for "certain" death. She is being attended and given her jewellery as if she is expected to die in the skiff which is to take the place of her tomb.

Panel 12 (Cat. no. 38) depicts Herakles at the moment when he discovers his son being suckled by a lioness. The figure of Herakles on the frieze must have made an immediate impression on the ancient spectator who would probably could not have helped but recognise its resemblance to the famous late 4th century statue by Lysippos (Fig. 82).¹⁹⁷ The statue of Lysippos was frequently imitated from very soon after its production; the resulting type in Roman hands is known as the "Farnese Herakles". It depicted the hero leaning wearily against his club and holding one of the apples of the Hesperides in the hand behind his back.

The frieze, however, makes some alterations. The crossed left leg and the movement of the right arm towards the left shoulder were not present on the original. According to Neumann, the raised right arm probably indicated a gesture of speech addressed to the mountain goddess in panel 8 (Cat. no. 40).¹⁹⁸ The motif of a male figure leaning against a staff with his left leg crossed over his right has its roots in the relief sculpture of the early fifth century BC. One of the earliest examples is a Boeotian stele, dated to ca. 490 BC, made by a certain Alxenor.¹⁹⁹

A similarly familiar motif would have been recognised in the crouching nymph in panel 7 (Cat. no. 39). The nymph's crouching position recalls the position of the 3rd century BC crouching Aphrodite.²⁰⁰ However, on the Telephos frieze the nymph actually kneels with her right leg on the ground and has her cloak loosely passed over her waist.

In panels 16-17 (Cat. nos. 43-44) Telephos is depicted receiving his armour from his mother Auge. As a parallel to this scene, the scene from the *Iliad* (19.1-36) where Thetis attended by Nereids armed her son Achilles with his new weapons, has been

Stewart (1990) fig. 478; Grave stone from Piraeus, ca.340 BC, Athens National Museum 819; Boardman *LCS* fig. 129.

¹⁹⁷P. Weizsäcker, "Bemerkungen zum Farnesischen Herakles" *AZ* 40 (1882) 255-264. Fig. 82: Copy of Lysippos' Herakles, executed ca. 325 BC, Naples National Museum 6001; Boardman *LCS* fig. 37.

¹⁹⁸Neumann 13.

¹⁹⁹In the National Museum in Athens (NM 39), from Orchomenos, inscribed "Alxenor of Naxos made me: just look"; Stewart (1990) fig. 254. It appears also on the east frieze of the Parthenon (dated to ca. 442-438 BC), on the east frieze of the Athena Nike temple (assembly of gods, dated to ca. 420 BC), and on gravestones such as that of Ktesilaos and Theano from Athens, in the National Museum 3472 (dated to ca. 410 400 BC); Stewart (1990) figs. 345, 418, 430 respectively. Cf. also the Ilissos stele, dated ca. 330 BC (Athens inv. nr. 869); Boardman *LCS* fig. 124.

²⁰⁰In Fort Worth Texas, Kimbell Art Museum (AP 67.9); Ridgway figs. 112a-c. The sculptor is debated. According to Pliny (*NH* 36.35) it was executed by one Doidalses of Bithynia (3rd century BC); Richter (1970) 234; Ridgway (1990) 230-232; Stewart (1990) 214. Pliny's unclear statement (36.35) read *Venerem lavantem sesededalsa stantem Polycharmus [fecit or fecerunt]*. As the Bamberg Codex had *sesedaedalsas* it was considered appropriate to split the word *sesededalsa* into *sese Daedalsas*, and thus assign the statue to Daedalsas/Doidalsas of Bithynia. In the late 12th century AD Eustathios mentioned that a Daidalos had made a statue of Zeus Stratios for king Nikomedes, and thus Pliny's statement was changed to read Daidalos. When Pliny's text was later emended (on the basis of the Bamberg Codex) to read Daedalsas it was assumed that it was a different version of the name Daidalos; Ridgway (1990) 230.

suggested.²⁰¹ This scene is also very popular in vase-painting in the Archaic and Classical periods; the making, the fetching, and the actual arming (Fig. 83), all feature.²⁰²

The motif of *dexiosis* (= offering of the hand) is thought to be depicted in two different episodes, panels, 18, 37 (Cat, nos. 45, 59).²⁰³ On panel 18 Telephos, having already received his arms from his mother Auge, is ready to depart for the war against Idas. He is apparently offering his right hand to Teuthras standing opposite him. The motif was particularly popular with departure scenes on Archaic and Classical vase-painting.

However, I disagree that the gesture is a handshake (*dexiosis*). A closer look at the scene (Cat. no. 45.1) shows that Telephos is holding his shield in his left hand; the right does not survive. Teuthras extends to him his left hand. If the two figures were to shake hands then Teuthras would have extended his right hand not the left. This scene represents a farewell, comparable with similar farewells in vase-painting, where the protagonists raise their hand as if in a wave (Fig. 84).²⁰⁴

The other case where *dexiosis* has been identified is in panel 37 (Cat. no. 59). This particular motif of two men shaking hands has a long tradition in Greek representational, especially funerary art. There is ample of evidence from Attic grave reliefs and vase-painting for two men or a man and a woman shaking hands.²⁰⁵ The most accepted explanation for the frequency of this gesture in funerary art is that it refers to the last farewell of the deceased to the living.²⁰⁶ *Dexiosis* was also used in the context of welcoming a guest and in the context of departure, especially that of a warrior; and in the context of reconciliation, or the conclusion of an alliance (Fig. 85).²⁰⁷

²⁰¹Schefold and Jung, 210.

²⁰²Fig. 83: Neck Amphora (Type A) by the Camtar Painter, "Achilles arming", ca. 575-555 BC, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 21.21; Boardman *ABFV* fig. 53. Cf. also: Lekane by the KX Painter, "Achilles receives arms from Thetis", Rhodes Museum 5008, ca. 587-570 BC; Belly Amphora (Type A), by the Amasis painter, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8027, from Orvieto, 560-525 BC; Neck Amphora by the Amasis painter, "Achilles arming", Berlin Staatliche Museen 3210, from Vulci, 560-525 BC; Boardman *ABFV* figs. 20, 86, 87, respectively. Painted amphora by the Copenhagen Painter, "Achilles arming", second quarter of the 5th century BC, Zurich University L5; Boardman *ARFVC* fig. 31. For more examples of similar warrior-departure scenes see A.B. Spiess, *Der Kriegerabschied auf attischen Vasen der archaischen Zeit* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992) 24-26, 41-44, 165-168.

²⁰³Neumann 49-58; M. Meyer, "Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs" *AM-BH* 13 (1989) 140-141.

²⁰⁴Fig. 84: Belly Amphora (Type A), by the Kleophrades Painter, early 5th century BC, Wurzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 507, from Vulci, "Departure with extispicy"; Boardman *ARFVA* fig. 129.1. Cf. also Belly Amphora (Type A), by the painter of the Munich Amphora, "unidentified scene", Munich Antikensammlungen 2303, from Agrigento; Hydria by the Gallatin Painter, "Danae", Boston Museum of Fine Arts 13.200, from Gela?; Boardman *ARFVA* figs. 191, 192 respectively.

²⁰⁵Cf. e.g. Grave relief with two men shaking hands, Athens National museum ca. 400 BC Papaspiridi no.2894; Johansen, fig. 13. Detail from calyx-crater by the Nekyia painter "Scenes in Hades", ca. 450 BC, in Metropolitan Museum of New York 21.08.258; Johansen, fig. 81. For more examples see also nos. 16-20, 23-25, 75, 79.

²⁰⁶Johansen 57, for the various theories see 55-64.

²⁰⁷Fig. 85: (85.1 welcoming a guest) red-figure volute crater from Agrigento, by the Syriskos Painter, "Poseidon welcoming Theseus", dated to ca. first quarter of the 5th century BC, in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris 418 (Richter 1966, fig. 107); (85.2 warrior departing). Cup by the Berlin Painter from Nola, in Berlin 2536, second half of the 5th century BC (Boardman *ARFVC* fig. 244.1); (85.3 reconciliation) Bell crater by the Painter of London F64, London 1924.7-16.1, "Reconciliation of Herakles and Apollo", early 4th century BC (Boardman *ARFVC* no.355); (85.4 alliance). Record relief from the acropolis of Athens, Acropolis 1333, on a decree honouring Samos for its support in the Peloponnesian war "Athena and Hera, the tutelary deities, shaking hands", 405 BC (Boardman CS fig. 177).

A traditional battle motif has been used for the Hiera/Nireus battling group; panels 22-24, (Cat. nos. 48-49).²⁰⁸ Despite the uncertain reconstruction of panels 22-33, it may be possible to get an idea of what some of the battling groups on the frieze looked like. In panel 22-24 (Cat. nos. 48-49) Telephos' Amazon wife Hiera battles two Greeks. She is mounted and flanked by the two Greek warriors - a long-standing traditional motif in Amazonomachies since archaic times.²⁰⁹

However, it is the more complicated versions of 4th to 2nd century BC relief sculpture that are probably more helpful in reconstructing the Pergamene groups. Comparison may, for example, be drawn with the Amazonomachy on the "Amazon sarcophagus", dated ca. 325 BC and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.²¹⁰ Hiera on her horse, must have been turning backwards wielding her battle axe at the Greek approaching from behind (Cat. no. 53) like the Amazon on the left side of the sarcophagus' relief or the Amazon on a frieze from the temple of Artemis at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander.²¹¹ Likewise, the warrior in panel 24 with his back turned to the spectator was holding the reins of Hiera's horse like one of the figures on the Amazon sarcophagus.²¹²

The motif of *prothesis* (corpse lying on a bier and funeral attendants) was a generic representation of the funeral from the Geometric period (e.g. the Dipylon vase) until the end of the 5th century BC.²¹³ The funeral in panel 51 (Cat. no. 50) shows a youth or a woman lying on a bier at the head of which stand two male figures. In Hellenistic times the dead person on the bier was reduced to a small scale in the lower part of the relief, but the Pergamene artist drew his inspiration from earlier works of art.²¹⁴

The iconographic motif depicting Telephos and Orestes at the altar (panel 42; Cat. no. 62) seems to have been the most popular episode of the myth in 5th and early 4th century BC Attic vase-painting, as well as Etruscan funerary art.²¹⁵ Already present on vase-painting by the mid 5th century BC, it may have increased in popularity following Euripides' play (432 BC ?) and Aristophanes' spoofs of it (425 and 411 BC) and it continues to make its appearance till the end of the 2nd century BC.²¹⁶ However, the motif

²⁰⁸ von Salis 129-134.

²⁰⁹ Cf. e.g. *LIMC* I (1981) s.v. Amazones, nos. 90, 381, 435a etc. (P. Devambez, A. Kaufmann-Samaras)

²¹⁰ Boardman *LCS* fig. 136.2; cf. also Amazonomachy from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, dated to ca. 360-350 BC, London BM nos. 1006, 1015, Boardman *LCS* figs. 21.2, 21.5.

²¹¹ Amazonomachy frieze, 2nd century BC, Istanbul M 154; Smith (1991) fig. 205.2.

²¹² Boardman *LCS* fig. 136.1

²¹³ For examples of *prothesis* see D.C. Kurtz, J. Boardman, *Thanatos, Tod und Jenseits bei den Griechen* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1985) 63-68 fig. 17, 90 fig. 21, 171.2, 50, 180.1. For more bibliography on the subject see Heres (1996) 178 n. 57.

²¹⁴ For examples of Hellenistic grave reliefs depicting the deceased on a bier, in the lower part of the relief see: G. Pfuhl, H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, 2 vols. (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1977, 1979) 166, 495, nos. 686s, 835c, 1477b.

²¹⁵ *LIMC* 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos, nos. 51-83 (Heres-Strauss).

²¹⁶ It seems though, that after the end of the 4th century BC it loses popularity and becomes the favourite subject of Etruscan funerary art, mid. 3rd till the end of the 2nd century BC; see *LIMC* 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos (Heres-Strauss). For the first appearance of the scene see above section 3.

developed from a non-violent scene, where Orestes is simply sitting on Telephos' shoulders or lap, to one of potential violence.²¹⁷

At its most barbaric Orestes is depicted upside down or threatened with death by Telephos' fists.²¹⁸ This extreme violence is employed here on the frieze. The infant Orestes is under Telephos' arms, head down facing the spectator, while Telephos threatens to kill him with his bare fists. It is not often that we encounter such barbaric violence committed by a Greek. There are many examples of the Trojan prince Astyanax being dangled by the legs or hair in front of Priam by the Greek hero Neoptolemos (Fig. 86), or of Herakles swinging Busiris or his Egyptian attendants by the legs over an altar.²¹⁹ These acts of violence are committed by Greeks against barbarians. In the case of the Telephos frieze, the eponymous hero assumes the violent attitude of a Greek who threatens to kill a barbarian; Orestes, although Greek is treated as a barbarian. The scene reminds one of the violent death of the Trojan prince Astyanax and his mother's Andromache's words in Euripides' *Troades* "ὦ βάρβαρ' ἐξευρόντες Ἕλληνες κακά" (= Greek devisers of barbaric cruelty), testifying to the barbaric evil of which Greek men were capable.²²⁰ The message and the effect of this scene must have been quite profound especially as it would have been viewed by mainland Greeks as well.²²¹

In panel 47 (Cat. no. 68) a woman flees from the action of the previous, lost panel. Her action is difficult to explain especially when the following panel depicted the heroized Telephos and another woman in fleeing attitude at the foot of his *kline*. It is obvious that her reaction, like that of the woman in panel 47, is closely related to the scene depicted in the missing panel. Her posture (panel 47) and her gestures as well as the swirling curves of her flying mantle strongly recall, for example, those of the fleeing Lapith women in the Centauromachy of the Bassae frieze (Fig. 87) or the terrified Klytaimnestra running away from the altar where Telephos has seized her son Orestes.²²²

The mood is carried over to the following heroization panel. Traditional "Totenmahl" reliefs depicted a man reclining and at the end of his *kline*; standing or sitting is usually a woman (his consort) on her own or accompanied by others (Fig. 59).²²³ The

²¹⁷Non-violent: *LIMC* 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos, no. 52 (Heres-Strauss); violent: *LIMC* 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos, nos. 51, 53, 55-57, 59, 60, 62-66, 72-77, 81, 87 (Heres-Strauss); *LIMC* I (1981) s.v. Agamemnon, nos. 22-24 (Toucheffeu-Krauskopf).

²¹⁸*LIMC* 7 (1994) s.v. Telephos, nos. 57, 64 (Heres-Strauss).

²¹⁹Fig. 86: Belly amphora by the Lydos Painter, "The death of Priam", in Berlin Staatliche Museen 1685, from Vulci, ca. 560-540 BC; Boardman *ABFV*, fig. 67. Cf. also: Belly Amphora by the Swing Painter, "Herakles kills Busiris", in Cincinnati Art Museum 1959, ca. 540-520 BC (Boardman, *ABFV*, fig. 143); Pelike by the Pan Painter, "Herakles and Busiris", Athens National Museum 9683 from Boeotia, ca. 480-460 BC (Boardman *ARFVA* fig. 336).

²²⁰Dated to ca. 415 BC; I. 764.

²²¹For an interpretation of the scene see Chapter 5 pp. 156-157.

²²²Fig. 87: Slab 530, British Museum London (GR 18.15.10-20.8), ca. 427-422 BC (Photo by A.S. Fanta). Cf. e.g. *LIMC* I (1981; O. Toucheffeu - I. Krauskopf) s.v. *Agamemnon* nos. 13, 14, 14a, 16, 18.

²²³See above p. 105 n. 60. Cf. also: Grave relief of Polla Pakonia, Byzantium, late 2nd or 1st century BC, Istanbul Hagia Sofia 388 (Smith (1991) fig. 224); marble Totenmahl relief, from Pergamon (Winter, 258-9, fig. 323).

mood is usually quiet and solemn in contrast to the vehement emotions of the Telephos frieze panel.²²⁴

Composition / use of space

Last but by no means least, the Telephos frieze is characterised by a variety of compositional combinations employed to manipulate space and achieve depth of background. The first to attempt a distinction between the various types of composition was Heres.²²⁵ According to her conclusions, the Telephos frieze presents four compositional combinations: composition on two levels, receding semi-circle, fan-shaped, and V-shaped composition.

Panels 5-6 (Cat. no. 35) form the only extant self-contained *composition on two levels*. Depth and background is indicated by different degrees of scale and relief execution. Auge and the two maid-servants are depicted on the upper level of the panels and the sense of spatial recession is rendered by a lower degree of relief employed in their execution. Apparently, this compositional effect has its forerunners in classical reliefs like the terra-cotta relief from Melos depicting the hunt of Meleager, now in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.²²⁶ But also in "perspective" painting of the mid-5th century BC especially in the work of the Niobid Painter and his eponymous group or the Polygnotan group. These were probably derived from contemporary wall painting by especially Polygnotos and Mikon (Stoa Poikile/ Theseion).

Another example of a self-contained group with spatial recession is in panels 38-40 (Cat. nos. 60-61). Here, however, the composition is executed in a gradually *receding semi-circle*. The servants are in profile, flanking the princes and the composition becomes more frontal as it approaches the centre. The central figure and the standing spear-bearer are rendered frontal in a more shallow relief than the figures of the servants and the rest of the group.

A *fan-shaped arrangement* can be seen in panel 10 (Cat. no. 36). The hurrying figures of king Teuthras and his retinue are characterised by overlapping parallel movement which has been transferred to the folds of their drapery. As Heres puts it "they seem to be inserted into a structure of lines", which together with the open space in the background and the increasing depth of the relief from the king to the foremost figure of the attendant create the effect of "atmospheric spaciousness".²²⁷ This particular arrangement can be seen in the 5th century BC relief friezes of the Lykian tombs.²²⁸ The same "fan-shaped" arrangement, but on a different level, can also be seen on the group of the dead Scythians in panel 25 (Cat. no. 51). They are depicted falling over a dead horse,

²²⁴For the mood's interpretation see above section 2 *Telephos' heroization scene*.

²²⁵Heres (1996) 102-105; (1997) 112-114. On spatial recession and depth of background see also Heres (1970) 103-121; Pollitt 205. On the use of landscape for depth of background see also: T. Osada, *Stilentwicklung hellenistischer Friese* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1993) 34-63; Carroll-Spiellecke 57-59.

²²⁶Dated to ca. 440 BC, Antikensammlung inv. no. TC 5783.

²²⁷Heres (1996) 104; (1997) 113-114.

²²⁸Cf. e.g. battle scene from the small frieze of the Nereid monument, from Xanthos, London British Museum, dated to ca. 420 BC; Heres (1996) fig. 25. Compare it with panel 10, Cat. no. 36.

which is executed with a high degree of foreshortening. Perspective is introduced by the increasing degree of relief; the figure lying backwards on the horse has his lower body in shallow relief which develops into a 3-dimensional execution at the head and outstretched arms. A similar motif, of dead figures lying on top of each other, can be seen in a late classical vase-painting.²²⁹

V-shaped composition can be seen in panel 42 (Cat. no. 62). The altar on which Telephos is sitting is depicted diagonally to the spectator. The same diagonal axis to the left is employed by the figure of Telephos. The movement contrasts with the opposite direction of the infant Orestes - upward and to the right. Apart from the different compositional arrangements, depth and background was also rendered by overlapping figures (Cat. nos. 36, 37, 43, 58-60), landscape elements in front of which a figure stood (Cat. no. 38), or architectural elements like the pillars and the columns topped by capitals or animals (Cat. nos. 64-65).

²²⁹Cf. e.g. red-figure situla of the Lykourgos Painter, ca. 350 BC, in Naples, Museo Nazionale 81863; Heres (1996) 105, fig. 26.

CHAPTER 5

THE HELLENISTIC AESTHETIC AND THE POWER OF IMAGE

Introduction

Roman critics have said of Hellenistic art, that it is decadent, lacking in elegance and aesthetics.¹ Pliny the Elder, in particular, argued that art ceased to exist between 293-153 BC, meaning that the art was so displeasing to the Romans that they considered it unworthy of mention and reproduction.² Today, however we know that Pliny's statement is simply not true, and that works of that period were actually often copied and reproduced at Rome.³ Yet, this belief that Hellenistic art is pompous and decadent still lingers, partly because earlier studies did not separate what was an original and what a Roman copy. The recent resurgence of interest in Hellenistic art has produced some spectacular results and it is now being appreciated as an expression of the cultural experience and aspirations of the age.⁴

Hellenistic art is interested in the individual, young or old, male or female, rich or poor, from any social and cultural background. The artist delights in depicting the grotesque and the elegant, everyday people and their activities, the particulars of life. This interest in the individual stems from contemporary political developments. After the death of Alexander the Great (323 BC) and the demarcation of his empire into smaller kingdoms, people migrated to the newly founded kingdoms in search of a better life. The beginning of a new life in a strange city, most of the time surrounded by foreign-speaking people, probably created a feeling of anxiety and uncertainty. New and larger kingdoms emerge, where one's role in the community seemed less certain, given the variety of coexisting cultures. As a consequence the individual would have turned elsewhere for a sense of belonging and for standards by which to guide his life.

The result of such searching was the emergence of new philosophical schools preaching new ideas on the virtuous man and his goal in life (e.g. Epicureanism, Stoicism). Such a philosophical school (Stoicism under Crates of Mallos) flourished in Pergamon at the court of Eumenes II. It is not within the scope of this study to examine the problems

¹Seneca *Epistles* 114.1; Suetonius (*Augustus* 86.2) argued that Antony's style was derived from the ornate and expressive "Asiatic" style popular in the Greek east.

²*NH* 34.52; for a discussion on the meaning of Pliny's words see e.g. F. Preisshofen, "Kunsttheorie und Kunstbetrachtung" in *Le classicisme à Rome aux Iers siècles avant et après J.-C.* (Geneva: Entretiens Hardt 25 1978) 263-282.

³See below B.1 pp. 171-172 on the influence of Augustan propaganda, on the rejection of Hellenistic art, and on the adoption of the Atticizing style as the art of the empire.

⁴Some of the latest studies of Hellenistic art include: Onians (1979); Pollitt (1986); Ridgway (1990) and bibliography for studies of individual works of art.

and limitations of Stoic philosophy, only to refer to those principles that may have influenced the imagery of the Great Altar.⁵

A similar interest in the individual and the new genre scenes seen in Hellenistic art is found in contemporary poetry. For instance, in Kallimachos' hymns the poet shows an interest in the sentimental detail of the myth, in the realistic and humane reactions of the gods. In the *Hymn to Demeter* (6.72-117) the poet is not so much concerned with the punishment of Erysichthon but rather with his parents' reaction to it. While in the hymn the *Bath of Pallas* (5.85-130) he is interested in the goddess' defence of her action (blinding of Tiresias), and the mother's grief rather than the event that caused these reactions.

An interest in the pastoral and the passions of romantic love can be seen in Theokritos' poems. In the *Hylas* idyll (13), the poet represents Herakles not as the hero he was but as a lover who deserts his Argonaut comrades to search for his love. The interest in a sportsman's skill is found in the *Dioskouroi* idyll (22) where Polydeukes is presented as a skilled and clever boxer. Despite being an epic, Apollonios' *Argonautica* includes passages where an interest in the emotional reactions of individuals is revealed. For example, in book 3 the poet devoted a large part of the narrative to the description of Medea's love-pangs for Jason, in effect producing a masterpiece of psychological analysis.⁶

In addition to the interest in emotion and the making of different genres that make Hellenistic art and poetry unique, is the technique with which Hellenistic artists and poets present their material. What becomes of interest are the different elements that the artist or poet uses to interact with his audience or viewers; e.g. allusions, intertextuality, space and time manipulation. These are the elements that constitute the Hellenistic aesthetic.

The general exuberance and adventurousness of the Hellenistic age is reflected in the technique of its artists. They are not content simply to repeat old forms but are interested in playing with the rules and crossing the boundaries. They experiment with the details of their style and the limits of their medium. They delight in manipulating perspective and subject matter, in provoking an array of emotional reactions. They are unwilling to conform to the established norms of style and subject matter but are interested in expressing their own individuality.

⁵For a comprehensive view of the Stoic principles as well as for ancient and contemporary criticism see: *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy* eds. K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, M. Schofield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999); K. Ierodiakonou, *Topics in Stoic Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1999) esp. 1-22, a good summary of the most important studies on Stoic philosophy; R.W. Sharples, *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics* (London: Routledge 1996); A.A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics*, 2nd edition (London: Duckworth, 1986); M. Dragona-Monachou, *The Stoic arguments for the existence and the providence of the gods* Ph.D. Diss. University of London (Athens 1976). On the various principles see notes on the respective texts below.

⁶See below n. 58. For Hellenistic poetry see e.g. T.B.L. Webster *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (London 1964); A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* 2 vols. (Cambridge 1965); S.F. Walker, *Theocritus* (Boston 1980); C. Segal, *Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral* (Princeton 1981); G.O. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1988) with an excellent summary of bibliographical references in 355-361; N. Hopkinson (ed.), *A Hellenistic Anthology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988); B.H. Fowler, *Hellenistic Aesthetic* (Bristol: Bristol Press 1989) et bib.

The aim of this chapter is on the one hand to show how the Great Altar is a characteristic example of this Hellenistic experience; and on the other to examine how the monument fits within the general framework of Attalid self-image. Consequently, the chapter is divided in two parts: the first explores the various elements which the artist uses to interact with his viewers; the second examines how the monument's imagery was used by the Attalids, and is compared with the earlier Athenian and the later Augustan experience.

Part A: Hellenistic Aesthetic

To understand the monument and its purpose, it is important to examine the artist's handling of the form, the rhetoric of the image. The earliest study of pictorial narrative in Greek art was written by C. Robert at the end of the 19th century.⁷ Robert's main preoccupation was to distinguish types of narrative strategy, the relationship between literature and art in storytelling, the study of iconographic questions and the historical development of narration. Robert's pioneering work distinguished three types of narrative: *complete*, *situational*, and *cyclical*. His work was further developed by F. Wickhoff who substituted *continuous* for Robert's *cyclical* narration.⁸ Their work was complemented by K. Weitzmann, whose main preoccupation was the study of time and how it manifested itself in the imagery.⁹

In the last two decades more sophisticated categories have been introduced into the taxonomy of narrative. For instance Snodgrass introduced the term *synoptic*, where in one single picture two or more episodes of the same myth were included without repetition of figures.¹⁰ Hurwit has proposed the category of *serial* narrative, thus defining a method where a story is told in a series of self-contained panels where the characters each appear once.¹¹ Shapiro introduced *unified* narrative, where multiple scenes (belonging to the same moment in time), occupy a different space.¹² Finally, Connelly proposed the *episodic* narrative, where we have several different episodes (taken from one story) belonging to different moments in time.¹³

The complex nature of pictorial narrative has led many scholars to turn to theories of literary narration for new models and approaches. For example Stewart borrows terms and concepts from literary structural analysis and semiotics to distinguish between *paradigmatic* (scenes from different stories linked together thematically or symbolically) and *syntagmatic* narrative (scenes following each other in time sequence).¹⁴ Later in his

⁷Robert (1881).

⁸Wickhoff (1895); *idem* (1900) 6-16.

⁹Weitzmann (1947) 12-36. Weitzmann's terminology and definitions have become standard in English publications, whereas Robert's and Wickhoff's are usually found in the German publications. Throughout these publications there is a clear association between the narrative type and the development of style in Greek art; the more the artists become aware of the problems of space the more naturalistic they become in the representation of time.

¹⁰A.M. Snodgrass, *Narration and Allusion in Archaic Greek art*, 11th J.L. Myres Memorial Lecture (Oxford 1982) 4.

¹¹J. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100-480 BC* (New York: Ithaca 1985) 173.

¹²H.A. Shapiro, "Narrative Strategies in Euphronios" in *Euphronios. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi. Arezzo, 27-28 Maggio 1990*, ed. M. Cygielman, M. Iozzo, F. Nicosia, P. Zamarchi Grassi (Florence 1992) 37-38.

¹³J.B. Connelly, "Narrative and Image in Attic vase-painting. Ajax and Cassandra at the Trojan Palladion" in *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art* ed. P.J. Holliday (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 119.

¹⁴A. Stewart, "Stesichoros and the François vase", in *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* ed. W.G. Moon (Madison 1983) 53-74; *idem* "History, Myth and Allegory in the Program of the temple of Athena Nike" in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* eds. H.L. Kessler and M. Shreve Simpson, *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (Washington D.C. 1985) 53-73; See also S. Chatman, "Towards a Theory of Narrative" *New Literary History* 6 (1974-5) 295-318; *idem* "What Novels Can Do That Films Can't (and Vice Versa)" *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1980-1) 121-140.

article "Narration and Allusion in the Hellenistic Baroque" he adopted Clark's idea that like literary texts, works of art are "utterances that anticipate answers, provoking them, eluding them".¹⁵ He further maintained that as texts presuppose a model reader so do works of art presuppose a model viewer.

This concept of reader - or viewer-response has become a feature of studies in Roman art (particularly those of R. Brilliant and J. Elsner) but also in 5th century BC Athenian art (D. Castriota).¹⁶ A different approach has been followed by Sourvinou-Inwood who stresses the importance of the cultural context in the understanding of the nature of the viewing process.¹⁷ The latest work on pictorial narrative by Stansbury-O'Donnell accommodates the different viewpoints and examines the role of each participant in the act of narration (artists, object and viewer).¹⁸

This brief review of scholarship indicates the intricacies and difficulties involved in the study of pictorial narrative. It is possible for the visual arts to present stories but comprehending how an ancient viewer might have read the narrative is a very difficult task. Considering the complexity of the monument it would be naive to try and fit it into a single category of narrative. Instead it is important to examine how the artist helps the viewer articulate the frieze. On the Gigantomachy frieze no reconstruction of sequence of events is necessary. The viewer can "enter" the frieze at any point. He can move around it, choosing whichever direction he prefers. The Gigantomachy frieze makes an overwhelming initial impact: too much to take in, no obvious way of articulating it; we approach tentatively and start picking out details, slowly building up a complete picture. The Telephos frieze, on the other hand, has a clear starting point, builds up one frame at a time, cumulatively creating an overwhelming effect as the brilliance of the execution impresses one more and more. It takes the viewer into its control and guides him, along; one might suggest that the experience of viewing it in this controlled manner mirrors the divinely controlled inevitability of the hero's career.

The Great Altar of Pergamon is a complex of architectural sculpture, arranged in a very careful way to provoke creative interpretation. The sculptures of the monument were open to the ancient viewer's interpretation which was largely shaped by his personal, cultural and political experiences, current at the time of viewing but now largely

¹⁵ Stewart (1993) 132-133; T.J. Clark, "Jackson Pollock's abstraction" *Reconstructing Modernism: Art in New York, Paris and Montreal 1945-64*, ed. S. Guilbaut (Cambridge: 1990) 177. See also Stewart (1987).

¹⁶ R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives. Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (New York: Ithaca 1984); J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer. The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995); D. Castriota, *Myth, Ethos and Actuality. Official Art in Fifth-Century BC Athens* (Wisconsin: Madison 1992).

¹⁷ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Reading Greek Culture. Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths* (Oxford 1991) with more theoretical discussion on 11-13. For more contextual approaches see H. Hoffmann, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori: The Imagery of Heroic Immortality on Athenian Painted vases" in Goldhill and Osborne (1994) 28-51 for the function of vases in terms of viewing context; and R. Osborne, "Framing the Centaur. Reading Fifth-century Architectural Sculpture" in Goldhill and Osborne (1994) 52-84 for images on centaurs against their viewing context.

¹⁸ M. D. Stansbury-O'Donnell, *Pictorial Narrative in Ancient Greek Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999), see also 1-13 for a concise summary of the scholarly approaches on the subject of pictorial narration.

impossible to reconstruct. The aim of this section is to identify some of those subtleties, the interrelated elements behind the narrative, that provide us with the necessary information on the story that was being told and the intentions of the people who commissioned the work. Hence, it is important to recreate the conditions that were in effect at the time of the Altar's inception, to attempt to recreate the common, shared understanding.

Gigantomachy frieze

Allegories; signs/symbolism

The viewer's reaction to the frieze is guided by allusions which tend to interfere with his interpretation of the serial development of the myth and divert his attention away from close engagement with any continuous story line towards reflection upon its meaning.

In the representation of the giants the artist has chosen to combine both new and traditional elements (see Chapter 3, section 4). Two groups of giants can be identified on the Pergamene frieze: the completely humanoid, wearing full or just a few pieces of body-armour, fighting with conventional weapons; and a monster-like group fighting with rocks, torches and trees. In effect it could be argued that on the frieze the viewer is compelled to distinguish between a civilised group of giants fighting the gods in the manner of conventional combat (Cat. no. 15 panel 41, Cat. no. 24 panels 75-76, Cat. no. 26 panels 83-84), and a savage, primitive group fighting the gods in any way they can, often resorting to brutal violence (cf. e.g. Cat. no. 15 panel 42, Cat. no. 24 panels 77-78).

It is probable that the designer intended to establish this clear distinction in the mind of the spectator in order to lead him to further "discoveries". The subtleties become more apparent as the viewer could not help but notice the references to contemporary historical events. Amongst the most obvious ones are the similarities of some of the giants to figures of the earlier Attalid groups that celebrated the victories of the Attalids against the Gauls (Chapter 2). As noted in Chapter 3, in two surviving cases the giants recall figures of Gauls from the Lesser Attalid group dedicated at Athens: Cat. no. 17 panels 46-47 (the dying giant recalls the Dying Gaul in the National Museum in Naples); Cat. no. 5 panels 7-9 (the giant fighting the lion recalls the falling Gaul in Venice).¹⁹ On another occasion, the arm handle of the shield of Artemis' giant opponent (Cat. no. 14, panels 41-42) is decorated with a *gorgoneion* similar to that on the shield of a dying Gaul from the Giardino Torrigiani in Florence.²⁰

¹⁹The Dying Gaul (Fig. 24.3) is the mirror image of the Dying Trumpeter (Fig. 22) from the monuments set up in Pergamon; see Chapter 3 pp. 40, 42 n. 195, see also Chapter 2 p. 42 on Hoepfner's theory that a copy of the Lesser monument was set up in Pergamon.

²⁰The Gaul is depicted seated on a great oval shield, in the centre of which is a *gorgoneion*. Around his waist is a girdle clasped by three rings and with his left hand he is either pressing the wound on his right side or trying to remove the weapon still lodged there. The figure is thought to have belonged to the Lesser Attalid monument dedicated in Athens by Attalos I ca. 200 BC (see Chapter 2); S. Reinach, "Les Gaulois dans l'art antique", in *RA* 13 (1889) 13.

The references to the Gallic groups become more apparent when comparing the treatment of the figures. The execution of the hair and beards of the hybrid giants on the frieze recalls that of the Gauls on the earlier Attalid monuments (Figs. 20-22, 24).²¹ This particular type of treatment corresponds with our main literary description of Gallic ethnic characteristics.²²

"Gauls are tall with rippling muscles ... They are always washing their hair in lime water and pull it back from the forehead ... so that they look like Satyrs and Pans; the treatment of their hair makes it so heavy and coarse that it looks like the mane of a horse ... Some of them shave the beard, but others let it grow a little. The nobles shave their cheeks but let the moustache grow until it covers the mouth". (Diod. Sic. 5.28)

That Gauls were often compared to giants is further attested by the literary tradition. In Kallimachos' *Hymn to Delos* (271 BC) Thessalos, the son of Herakles and Chalciope, foretells the Gallic invasion of Delphi (278 BC) metaphorically comparing the Gauls to the Titans.²³

"Yea and one day hereafter there shall come upon us a common struggle, when the Titans of a later day shall rouse up against the Hellenes barbarian sword and Celtic war ..." (170-177)

Similarly, Statius (45-96 AD) in his *Silvae* (5.3.195-197) compares the Gallic invasion of the Roman capital (69 AD) to the fiery combat between the gods and giants, while the Roman general Flamininus, in Silius Italicus' (26-101 AD) *Punica*, refers to his struggle against the Boii Gauls saying:

"How many I then put to death ... bodies born by Earth in anger, and men whom a single wound could hardly kill. Their huge limbs were scattered over the plains, and now their mighty bones cover the fields." (5.110-113)

Although the last two references come from later Roman sources, Kallimachos' comparison is evidence that in the contemporary literary tradition the barbaric Gauls were metaphorically equated with the giants, and the wars against them to the Gigantomachy.

However, the Gauls were not the only Attalid enemies with whom the Pergamene giants were metaphorically compared. The armour equipment on some of the humanoid giants is distinctively Macedonian. The helmet of the dead giant in Cat. no. 25 (panel 80) is of the *Tiara* type worn, especially, by Macedonian infantry.²⁴ The effect of the image (giant wearing Macedonian helmet) becomes more pronounced when a similar type of *Tiara* helmet is found on one of the armour reliefs from the Athena Propylon (Fig. 27.1;

²¹See Chapter 2 p. 39 n. 176, 40 n. 186, 42 n. 195.

²²Diodorus Siculus 5.28; Pausanias 10.19 ff.

²³The hymn was dedicated to Ptolemy II Philadelphos (310/9-247 BC) whose aid in repelling the Gauls from Delphi, in 278 BC, was vital; IV. ll.188-195; Mair's translation (Loeb Classical Library, 1977) 28-30. The giants were often confused with the Titans; see Chapter 3 n. 140 p. 77.

²⁴See Chapter 3, p. 86.

where it has a plume of horsehair) celebrating the victories of Eumenes II against the Macedonians.²⁵

According to some scholars, the most explicit reference to the Macedonian wars is the *starburst* shield in Cat. no. 19 (panel 56).²⁶ However, the star was not an ethnic emblem of the Macedonians and the traditional Macedonian shield was the *chalcaspis* which was also depicted on the armour reliefs of the Athena Propylon (Fig. 27.2). Instead, the star as an emblem was mostly associated with the Macedonian royal family.²⁷ What is intriguing is that the artist did not choose to depict the *chalcaspis* (Macedonian infantry), already depicted on the armour reliefs, but the *starburst* (Macedonian royal family) instead; and the reason probably lies in the artist's intention to lead the spectator to make more pointed connections. Since archaic times the star emblem was depicted mostly on shields carried by Amazons, the Geryones, barbarians, and giants.²⁸ Moreover, most ancient authors agree that the site of the Gigantomachy was the Macedonian plain of Pallene (Phlegra), the giants' place of residence.²⁹ By depicting the emblem of the Macedonian royal house on the shield of a giant, the artist was associating the native (Macedonian) giants specifically with the royal house of Macedon. The viewer was thus reminded of the location of the mythical battle (Macedonian Pallene) and was induced to make the association that, like the gods, the Attalids had to fight against the evil dwellers of Macedonia. Finally, if one were to assume that the date of the altar's dedication is after 166 BC, then it may also be possible to argue that the fallen emblem of the royal Macedonian house alluded to the devastating defeat of the Macedonians at Pydna (168 BC).³⁰

The choice of both human and monstrous giants perhaps indicated that the battle was not necessarily confined to a mythical, distant world but could take place in the time and world of the viewer. The battle of the gods against the barbarian giants could belong to historical times. The wars of the Attalids against the Gauls and their allies were wars of Greeks fighting for freedom against barbarians or Greeks acting as barbarians. The violence that was depicted on the frieze was very real violence, a reminder of the unstable times and the peace that was, as after the battle fought by the gods, finally restored. Consequently, the myth acquired a diachronic element.³¹

This skilful cross-referencing from the mythical/divine world to the contemporary/historical one is further enhanced by the introduction of new motifs to the

²⁵See Chapter 2, p. 46 n. 226.

²⁶Stewart (1990) 212; Kunze (1990) 137-138.

²⁷S.G. Miller, *The tomb of Lyson and Kallikles: A painted Macedonian tomb* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag von Zabern, 1993) 57-58, n. 132.

²⁸*LIMC* I s.v. Amazones nos. 6a-9, 18, 90, 348. 369; A. Birchall, *Greek gods and heroes* (London: British Museum publications 1974) fig. 30, Herakles fights against Geryon; Kinch tomb (Miller, 58); *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes (Vian) no. 322 (Neck amphora by the Suessula Painter ca. 420-400 BC). It has also been noticed on the shields of Greek *hoplitai*; *LIMC* s.v. Amazones nos. 90, 315, 238.

²⁹See e.g. Aischylos *Eumenidai* 295; Eur. *Her.* 1194; Lykophron *Alex.* 1356-8 (specifically states that it is the giant's birthplace); 1406; *LIMC* IV s.v. Gigantes 191; Chapter 3 section 3.

³⁰On the altar's date see below pp. 189-190.

³¹See also pp. 151-152.

iconography of the myth. These were not necessarily new to Greek iconography. For instance, the group of a god fighting the lion-headed giant (Cat. no. 11, panels 29-30), or the biting-group on the north frieze (Cat. no. 24.3) are motifs taken from the iconographic repertory of Herakles' labours - the Nemean lion and the battle against the giant Antaios respectively.³² Herakles' labours were already known in Greek representational art as examples of civilisation versus barbarism. The Nemean lion was ravaging the crops and live-stock of the people of Nemea, thus threatening their life and food supplies.³³ The giant Antaios was forcing strangers to wrestle with him and, after exhausting them, he would kill them, using their skulls to build the roof of Poseidon's temple.³⁴ Both posed threats to the life and prosperity of the people and their immediate destruction was necessary for the preservation of life and order in human society.

Likewise, on the Pergamene frieze the giants with their natural instinct for disorder and lawlessness attempted to shake the foundations of cosmic order and civilisation. Their hybris was punished by the gods who joined forces to destroy the giants. On the historical level, this threat to stability and peace was caused by the Gauls and the other enemies of Pergamon.

This imagery of *civilisation* versus *barbarism* is further stressed by the written *logos* (inscriptions). One of the most intriguing features of the frieze is the use of inscriptions: on the cornice the names of the gods, on the socle of the frieze the names of the giants. Inscriptions on architectural sculpture were not unique. The sixth-century BC Sikyonian and Siphnian treasuries at Delphi used them on their friezes, and we find them again on the metopes of the fourth-century BC Athena Alea temple at Tegea. However, the function of the inscriptions on these earlier examples and their function on the Pergamene frieze seems to have been completely different. On the earlier buildings the inscriptions on the friezes and the metopes were located at a much higher level than those of the Pergamene frieze. Only in the Pergamene instance were the inscriptions totally visible.

On the Pergamene frieze the inscriptions, located just above eye-level, had a more didactic function. They were the written identifications of the imagery, inviting the viewer to give further consideration to the images and their meaning. Stewart argues that in the allocation of the names (gods "up", giants "down") there is a spatial metaphor; the giants are suffering their downfall (*katastrophe*), ruin, and death.³⁵ They have to struggle up to Olympos but their earth-bound snake-legs automatically prevent them from doing so. The outcome of the battle is a foregone conclusion. In this frame of thinking, Stewart argues that other metaphors come into mind: virtue/good is up and vice/evil is down; reason is up (the tranquil faces of gods) and emotion (the contorted faces of giants) is down, and so on.

³²See Chapter 3 p. 91 n. 206.

³³Diod. Sic. 4.11; Valerius Flaccus 1.34; Apollodoros 2.5.1.

³⁴Diod. Sic. 4.17; Apollodoros 2.5.11; Hyginus *Fab.* 31.

³⁵Stewart (1993) 159-160.

Goldhill and Osborne note that even the simple act of naming a character in a visual work constructs and implies a relation between object and viewer, that the process of identification ultimately involves some degree of interpretation.³⁶ The function of the inscriptions becomes even more suggestive if one studies the etymology of the carefully chosen names.

For instance, the name of Themis' snake-legged opponent (Maimaches) means "boisterous/raging fighter" with no discipline, a name appropriate for the opponent of the goddess of law and established order. Such an etymological approach would not be at variance with contemporary Stoic practice especially at a time when Krates was preoccupied with the explication of the names of the gods in the Homeric epics.³⁷ The names of the giants seem to be the literary expressions of every aspect of an uncivilised, primitive society. In effect, every individual giant is the personification of an abstract meaning: brute force and violence (Eurybias, Erysichthon), defilement by blood (Palamneus), boisterous rage (Maimaches) etc. The names highlight the fact that the gods' struggle is that of civilisation against the abstract personifications of everything that is evil and uncivilised. This notion seems to apply at both the divine and the secular level. On the divine level the gods fight against the uncivilised and chaotic nature of the giants who threaten the stability of the universe. On the secular level, the viewer is reminded that the Attalids, as the gods, had to fight against the destabilising and barbaric nature of their enemies.

In Stoic philosophy, the active principle in Nature *logos* (Reason) rules all that is and happens.³⁸ In Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* the god (Zeus) is the Ruler of Right Reason and consequently identified with it.³⁹ The only set of principles that can guide a man through life are based on Right Reason, or Law of Nature, the will of Zeus.⁴⁰ Consequently, any action against Reason is an action against Zeus and the cosmic order.⁴¹

"... nor is any deed done without you, God, not on earth nor in the divine fiery heaven
nor on the sea, except the deeds done by bad men in (or because of) their folly".
(Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus*)

According to these principles, on the divine level, the giants had acted against the will of Zeus, against the Law of Nature and therefore they had to be destroyed. On the contemporary/historical level, the Gauls and Macedonians threatened the order and peace of the Greek cities in mainland Greece and Asia Minor. The Attalids saw that it was their duty (*kathekon*) to interfere and amend the injustice caused to their fellow Greeks.⁴²

³⁶ S. Goldhill and R. Osborne, *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge 1994) 1-11.

³⁷ Krates' etymologies were part of his *Homerica*; see Chapter 2 n. 248 p. 49.

³⁸ Scholia Homer *Il.* VIII.69; Stobaios, *Eclogai* 1.79, p. 1 W = *SVF* II.931.

³⁹ Cleanthes *apud* Stobaios, *Ecl.* 1.1.12, p.25 W = *SVF* I 537.

⁴⁰ Diogenes Laertios 7.87-88.

⁴¹ D.L. 7.88; Stobaios, *Ecl.* 2.89.15-16 = *SVF* III 386.

⁴² According to Stoic philosophy a *kathekon* is an appropriate action (according to the Law of Zeus); Diog. Laer. VII.108; Stobaios, *Ecl.* 2.86. Moreover, a *katorthoma* was a man's correct action as opposed to a *kathekon* that was man's appropriate actions (moral duty). Consequently, a *katorthoma* was the perfect *kathekon*; Stobaios *Ecl.* 2.95 (C.J. de Vogel, *Greek Philosophy: the Hellenistic and Roman period*, vol. III,

Time

The various allusions to the Attalid historical world are further enhanced by the contemporary setting in which the battle takes place. The gods wear contemporary footwear and the giants carry contemporary armour.⁴³ The exhaustive interest in detail in the execution of the garments, their different textures and materials, was considered by Hansen as an allusion to the flourishing Pergamene textile market.⁴⁴

This idea of contemporaneity gave a polychronic feeling to the myth.⁴⁵ This notion is similar to the Stoic doctrine of the repetition of history. The Stoics believed that the course of the events is entirely predetermined and cyclical, each set of circumstances giving rise to one particular outcome.⁴⁶ Periodically the whole world turns into fire (*ekpurosis*) and, when it goes out, Zeus (identified with creative fire, (*pur technikon*)) who remains as a spark, develops the world again in exactly the way he did before.⁴⁷ It may even be argued that this cosmic *katharsis* by fire is alluded to in the thunderbolts of Zeus and the abundance of torches used by the gods and goddesses to fight the giants on the frieze - cf. e.g. Cat. nos. 9, 13, 14, 16. This fire is not so much a destruction but rather an *apotheosis* in which the whole world becomes Zeus himself and from him it is born again. Consequently, history repeated itself in endless cycles; the gods had seen it all before.⁴⁸

Placing the battle in a contemporary setting, the artist probably intended to show that the fight of good versus evil is an on-going battle that repeats itself in every world cycle. As everything is predetermined, the outcome of the struggle is also predetermined. The constant allusions to victories of the Attalid kings against "evil" perhaps suggested that even on a historical level the fight of good against evil (of civilisation versus barbarism) was an on-going battle with a predetermined outcome.

It might be argued that such a cyclical approach belittles the Attalid achievement. The emphasis, however, is laid on the individual who undertakes the fight of good versus evil at the cost of human life. This belief in the predetermined and cyclical repetition of events ultimately associates the Attalid achievement with the earlier Athenian achievement which in turn was associated with the original struggle of the gods against the giants.⁴⁹

3rd edition, Leiden, Brill 1973, 1033-1034). Plutarch (*De Stoicorum Repugnantiis* ch. 11) cites important fragments of the psychology of action from a work by Chrysippos (280-207) bearing the title *On Law* (which must have been a work setting out in detail the relation of man to the will of Zeus, an explication of how man can best live his life). Panaitios (ca. 185-109 BC) also wrote a book titled *On Duties* of which unfortunately nothing survives. Cicero, however, based the first three chapters of his work on the same subject on the earlier work of Panaitios; Cicero *Att.* 16.2.4; *Off.* 3.7 (33), 3.8 (Panaitios' work was written ca. 140/139 BC). See *Cicero on Duties* eds. M.T. Griffin, E.M. Atkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); see also below B.3 p. 180.

⁴³ See Chapter 3 p. 86 n. 178.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 3 p. 85 n. 177.

⁴⁵ See Part B.

⁴⁶ Alexander of Aphrodisias *On Fate* 191.30 ff.

⁴⁷ *Ekpurosis*: Plutarch *St. Rep.* 1052C; Diog. VII.142; Aristokles *apud* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* XV 816d (*SVF* I 98). Zeus as *pur technikon*: Aetios, *Plac.* I.7.33 (*SVF* II 1027); de Vogel 902-905.

⁴⁸ Nemesius *On the Nature of Man* 38.111.18-25.

⁴⁹ See Part B.1 pp. 169-170.

Time is collapsed. The past is infused with the present and the present with the past. If the Attalid achievement in war is meant to be represented by the struggle of the gods against the giants, one could argue that the Attalid king was represented in the person of Zeus. Such a notion would surely find justification in the Stoic belief that the ideal *basileus* is a copy of Zeus-Basileus (ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ἄριστος θεός).⁵⁰ His wishes and orders were the Law in his kingdom, just as Zeus' will was the Law of Nature in the Universe, and his task and moral duty, as a Stoic sage, was to secure justice for his people.⁵¹

Space

Upon entering the altar precinct, the opposing movement of the three-dimensional figures of Zeus and Athena invited the viewer to move along on either side of the frieze.⁵² Likewise the figures of the giants mounting the stairs on the west side of the altar invited the viewer to join them in climbing up the stairs and into the inner court. The carefully juxtaposed groupings avoid the monotony of a long narrative and concentrate the viewer's attention on the individual groups. The arrangement encourages close, engaged reading, and invites one to look for significance in the details. In effect, the artist is using space as another visual element that will aid the spectator to articulate the imagery of the frieze.

Baroque⁵³

On the Gigantomachy frieze the artist eagerly exploits all the attention-seeking devices of Hellenistic art to emphasize the horror of the conflict. According to Stewart, the frieze's unsettling *hyperbole*, on the one hand, showed the triumph of moral virtue over absolute evil, and on the other offered a disturbing insight into the instability of the contemporary world.⁵⁴

Not the least interesting aspect of the frieze is its style.⁵⁵ The drapery with its dramatic *tour de force*, that envelops or works against the movement of the figures, is used to heighten the tension and turmoil of the conflict. The pounding muscles and the deforming passion on the faces of the hybrid giants contrast with the composed features of the completely human group of giants. Unexpected twists of the body, brutal violence,

⁵⁰Dio. Chrys. *Or.* 3.51-85.

⁵¹See above nn 39-41. According to Rostovtzeff the Attalid principle of rule is summarised in a decree passed by Aigina's *boule* and *demos* in honour of Aigina's *epistates* Kleon; *OGIS* no. 329; Austin (1981) no. 209, dated ca. 159-139 BC. In the decree it is stated that the king, his laws and orders were paramount. "However, the ruler must not be harsh and selfish and his endeavour must be to act as a peacemaker. His chief task is to secure justice for everybody, for the weakest against the strongest and for the poorest against the richest". Rostovtzeff argues that this was the philosophy of "enlightened autocracy"; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 8, ed. S.A. Cook, F.E. Adcock, M.P. Charlesworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930) 617-618.

⁵²See Chapter 3 pp. 93-94.

⁵³To describe the style of the frieze I am using the conventional term *Baroque* but in the Hellenistic field as it is a borrowed term with its own Renaissance nuances. On the origins and developments see: Pollitt (1986) 111-126; Carpenter (1960) 208-209; Bieber (1955).

⁵⁴A. Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 217-220.

⁵⁵See Chapter 4 pp. 131-136.

open wounds with gushing blood, and an incredible polymorphy of giants continuously stimulate the eye and mind of the viewer. This chaotic and often cluttered effect created by the imagery of the frieze is evocative of contemporary literature. According to Fowler the most appropriate literary example is, perhaps, the description of the slaughter of the giants by Herakles in Apollonios Rhodios' epic *Argonautica* (3rd century BC).⁵⁶

"Herakles ... quickly bent his back-springing bow against the monsters and brought them to earth one after another; and they in turn raised huge ragged rocks and hurled them ... And as when woodcutters cast in rows upon the beach long trees just hewn down by their axes ... so these monsters at the entrance of the foam-fringed harbour lay stretched one after another, some in heaps bending their heads and breasts into the salt waves with their limbs spread out above on the land ..." (I. 993-1008).

The graphic description of the giants' dead bodies seems echoed in the images on the frieze - the bodies of the dead giants sprawled across the panels or piled in heaps under fierce battling groups; e.g. Cat. no. 12 (panel 34), Cat. no. 19 (panels 55-56), Cat. no. 23 (panels 71-72), Cat. no. 25.3. At one level the Pergamene frieze is the visual expression of literary work. According to Simonides "painting is mute poetry and poetry is a speaking picture".⁵⁷ Although Simonides refers to painting in particular, the same may be said of the equally expressive imagery of sculpture.

Like the Hellenistic sculptors, contemporary poets loved to stir the emotions and did not hesitate to describe realistically physical or even emotional pain and torment. A characteristic example of such an emotional turmoil is the description of Medea's torment over her love for Jason in Apollonios' *Argonautica*.⁵⁸ The maiden is presented running from one room to another, her heart on fire and streams of burning tears running down her cheeks. She is tormented by her love for Jason and the guilt for betraying her father. The description of the emotional pain is so real that it seems to take the form of physical torture.

"And the tear of pity flowed from her eyes, and ever within anguish tortured her, a smouldering fire through her frame, and about her fine nerves and deep down beneath the nape of the neck where the pain enters keenest, whenever the unwearied Loves direct against the heart their shafts of agony" (3. 755-765)⁵⁹

The poet Theokritos (3rd century BC) is also interested in dramatic contrasts and overwhelming emotions. The description of the boxing match between Amykos and Polydeukes is filled with the brutal violence and the physical pain of the sport (22. 80-130). The poet does not hesitate to present every detail of the bruising and the scaring caused by Polydeukes' blows.

⁵⁶Fowler 37-42, 88-91.

⁵⁷Simonides *apud* Plutarch *Moralia* "On the Fame of Athens" 346F (test. 47 b Cambell).

⁵⁸Cf. e.g. *Arg.* 3.645-673, 755-765, 802-824, 1008-1025 etc.

⁵⁹Compare the same episode in Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica*.

"..my lord (Polydeukes) slips his head aside and the same moment struck out forthright from the shoulder and smote him (Amykos) under the left temple; and from that gaping temple the red blood came spurting. Then his left hand did beat him in the mouth, so that the rows of teeth isn't crackled again; aye, and ever livelier patter o' the fists did maul the face of him till his visage was all one mash." (22.123-128)

This kind of violent emotional passion and physical suffering can also be seen in examples of contemporary sculpture. The psychological terror of the physical torture that awaits him can be seen in the distorted face and the almost torn muscles of Marsyas in the famous Hellenistic group.⁶⁰ Of comparable power is the controversial Laokoon group.⁶¹ The terror of death and the fear of the divine punishment are imprinted on the face of the Trojan priest who wrestles to free himself from the snake's deadly bite.

The same brutal violence is depicted on the Pergamene frieze. There is no such feeling as pity and admiration for the noble death of an enemy as some scholars have suggested for the earlier Attalid dedications (e.g. Suicidal Gaul, dying Trumpeter).⁶² On the north frieze, Aphrodite steps over the face of a dead giant (Cat. no. 23, panels 70-71); an Erinyes stabs an adversary from behind (Cat. no. 25, panel 81); Leto (Cat. no. 16, panels 44-45) torches her opponent; while her daughter Artemis steps over the limbs of a dead giant (Cat. no. 15.4). The expressions on the faces of the giants were those of agonising fear and distress.

Telephos frieze

Time and Space

Upon entering the inner court, the ancient viewer was invited to follow the development of the myth from left to right. Like the Gigantomachy myth, the Telephos myth is also placed in a contemporary setting. To achieve this contemporaneity the artist used contemporary footwear, costumes, armour, and furniture. Different elements from daily Pergamene life incorporate the past into the present. In two particular cases where the artist introduces archaizing elements he does so for the purpose of the narrative.⁶³

The figures on the frieze are depicted in semi-profile postures, mostly turning towards the viewer, who may feel as if he is himself participating in the separate episodes, as on the Gigantomachy stairs.⁶⁴ This interaction is achieved by the position of the viewer in relation to the figures on the frieze, who are neither profile nor frontal. In each episode, the figure of at least one person will be half-turned towards the viewer, thus involving him in the action. He is not detached from the narrative but rather moves with it. The aim was to create a relationship between the object (frieze) and the viewer. The spectator is invited

⁶⁰The group's date and sculptor are conjectural, it is generally dated however in the second half of the 3rd century BC; on the debate see Stewart (1990) 216. Several copies of it survive, see for e.g. Louvre 542, or the Istanbul M 534; Smith (1991) figs. 135.1-2 respectively

⁶¹On the Laokoon group see Chapter 3 p. 90 n. 200 (Fig. 43). On the idea of the "noble savage" see below p. 168.

⁶²See Chapter 2 p. 42 n. 201. Pollitt 92-95; Smith (1991) fig. 103.

⁶³See below *Archaism* pp. 153-154.

⁶⁴See above pp. 151-152 (*Space*).

to follow the action of the myth as an audience does that of a tragedy; watching, "listening", but unable to interfere.

The contemporary setting would fuse the past into the present, as if Telephos was reborn into the contemporary world. Time collapses and the viewer may ask what is mythical and what historical, as he glances upon images drawn from his own world. The archaising image of Athena (Cat. no. 46) that was supposed to have been brought into the city by Auge would have been there in the temple of Athena on the Pergamene acropolis.⁶⁵ In panel 1 the Pergamene viewer watches the servant recording the oracle of Lykian Apollo on what was probably parchment, something for which Pergamon was famous during the reign of Eumenes II.⁶⁶ In panels 44-46 (Cat. nos. 64-65) the viewer witnesses events taking place at the perfectly familiar sanctuary of a god (Asklepios' ?) located outside the city walls, while in Cat. nos. 66-67 he sees the burial of a mythical figure, as though it were that of a contemporary person, taking place next to the already known grave of Auge.⁶⁷ The figures on the Telephos frieze are of past history, but because the history is dressed up in thoroughly contemporary accoutrements the viewer experiences it as contemporary; this experience is aided by the actual presence of some of the monuments within his field of vision.

The effect created is similar to that in Hellenistic poetry. Often in Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica* the reader is confronted by his own familiarity with places and cults founded by figures who, though legendary, appear to be contemporary. For example in book 2.1009-1029 the poet addresses the reader and talks about the customs of the Mossynoeci, comparing them to their own in contemporary times. In another case (2.927-929) the poet explains how the contemporary place of Lyra acquired its name from Orpheus when the latter dedicated his lyre at the altar of Apollo. Here the poet credits a mythical person with the naming of a real place, well known to the reader, thus presenting Orpheus with historical status. Likewise in 2.714-719 the reader learns how the familiar temple of Concord on the island of Thynias was built by the Argonauts who, like Orpheus above, have crossed from the realm of myth and into the historical world.

In Apollonios' *Argonautica*, as on the Telephos frieze, the past is fused into the present, the latter being informed by the former. The boundaries of what is mythical and what contemporary/historical have been crossed. The reader witnesses legendary heroes founding still extant cults and monuments as if they are contemporary figures.

Skenographia

One of the most interesting ways to fuse past with present is the use of *skenographia*, namely the use of landscape and architectural features to inform the narrative. For instance in Cat. nos. 32, and 46-47 the use of pillars or curtains indicates

⁶⁵That such an archaising image of Athena probably existed in Pergamon is hinted by the numismatic and sculptural evidence; see App. 3 *Evidence* (coinage), and Chapter 2 p. 26 n. 78 (relief with lions and bulls).

⁶⁶See Chapter 2 p. 50 n. 256.

⁶⁷See Chapter 4 p. 114.

that the scenes are taking place indoors, whereas in Cat. nos. 33-34, 38, 40-41, and 64-65, the use of trees or rocky slopes places the scenes outdoors. The location could become more specific when altars or statues are depicted (Cat. nos. 37, 56, 42), or even architectural features associated with a particular cultic activity (Cat. nos. 64-65). To the modern eye, without all the knowledge that the ancient viewer would have had (e.g. familiarity with a particular place such as a sanctuary), the meanings behind certain images may be less clear.

However, the ancient viewer, when looking at the rich curtains of the wedding room (Cat. no. 47) and the contemporary furniture, might have been able to make the association between the mythical world of Telephos and the current real world of the Attalids. This infusion of the past into the present is probably more apparent in Cat. nos. 64-65, where the ancient viewer is looking at a ceremony taking place at the sanctuary of Asklepios that was built by the Attalids.⁶⁸

Archaism

Despite the contemporary setting of the Telephos frieze, in at least two surviving cases the artist has introduced archaizing elements: the base and cult-statue of Athena in panel 20 (Cat. no. 46.1-2); and the throne of Neiaira in panels 2-3 (Cat. nos. 32-33).⁶⁹ According to Heres, the artist's intention was to distinguish the events prior to Telephos' birth (panels 2-3), and to represent Athena's cult in Pergamon as a very old foundation (panel 20).⁷⁰

Having created the illusion of contemporaneity, the artist then breaks the *dramatic illusion* by suddenly and unexpectedly taking the spectator back to the past. Having experienced the first shock (taken from the past to the present) he is forced to deal with an image from the past (i.e. Athena's cult statue). The archaizing image of Athena on the frieze is used to enhance the impression that the events narrated do not belong to the distant legendary world but to the near contemporary one. The experience also foregrounds the question of time by means of these puzzling juxtapositions, and draws the viewer into the narrative by making him think about where he stands in relation to the events; one has difficulty in working out where he stands in relation to the archaizing image. The artist vividly makes the point that the hero Telephos is a living force in the contemporary world, reincarnated in the Attalids. His spirit and legacy revived in the Attalid kings animates the collective of all the citizens.

The archaizing image of Athena was at the centre of Pergamene religious life, their link and claim to the past.⁷¹ It was depicted on a 2nd century BC relief found near the

⁶⁸See Chapter 4 p. 107-108. See also below B.1 (n. 166) the relief of the Apollonian triad from the reign of Augustus (Fig. 96).

⁶⁹The term *archaism* refers to a comprehensive and conscious recreation of the Archaic style. For an outline of the debate on the date of its invention (some scholars place it in the Hellenistic period and some in the beginning of the 5th century BC) see Pollitt (1986) 175-184.

⁷⁰For Neiaira's throne see Heres (1996) 99; (1997) 107; for Athena's cult statue see Heres (1997) 108; see also Chapter 4 p. 130.

⁷¹See Chapter 2 pp.26-28.

temple of Athena and on the obverse of a group of 3rd century BC Pergamene gold staters.⁷² The inscriptional evidence from Pergamon is a further testimony to the city's claim that Auge, Telephos' mother, was the founder of Athena's cult in Pergamon.⁷³ Consequently, amidst these images and testimonies, the archaizing image of Athena on the Pergamene frieze was probably intended to draw the association between Telephos, Pergamon and the Attalids. On the one hand it served as the visual testimony of the Attalid claim that the cult of Athena was introduced into Pergamon by Auge, and on the other it showed that the Attalids still worshipped the cults introduced by their ancestors.⁷⁴

Allegories; signs/symbolism

It has already been noted in Chapter 4 how in the seduction (Cat. no. 37) and marriage panels (Cat. no. 46) the artist used the bare breast and the hesitant posture of Auge, to allude to forthcoming events.⁷⁵ The use of suggestive imagery is characteristic of Hellenistic art. The artist delights in shocking and provoking the viewer's response in order to stimulate the latter's critical faculties. A bare breast in a religious context and a hesitant bride would immediately remind the viewer of the forthcoming events.

Perhaps one of the most interesting elements of the frieze is the representation of baby Telephos being suckled by a lioness instead of the traditional deer (see Chapter 3, section 3). In no other case, either literary or iconographic, is this motif depicted. According to Brueckner, the most plausible explanation is that the artist intended to show the Pergamene resentment at Rome's hostility towards them during the years 172-166 BC.⁷⁶ The lion was used as an anti-Roman symbol at a time when relations between Rome and Pergamon were poor. Brueckner's theory was adopted by Schmidt who went even further, describing the lion as a creature stronger than a wolf (Roman symbol) and quite independent (hunts on its own).⁷⁷ Schmidt's view was contested by Webb who argued that he was wrong to see the lion as a lone hunter, as both lion and wolf hunt in groups.⁷⁸ Although Webb agrees that this change was made for a specific purpose, she does not offer an alternative explanation. Rather she believes that the (now lost) Pergamene literary version of the myth had a lion instead of a deer suckling baby Telephos.

Webb's arguments are hardly sufficient to overthrow Schmidt's very plausible, political interpretation. By having their hero suckled by a lioness instead of a deer, the Pergamenes automatically showed him as stronger (nursed by the queen of beasts) and more powerful than Rome's mythical ancestors Romulus and Remus who were suckled by a mere she-wolf. It may even be possible to argue that there is a connection between the

⁷²See Chapter 2, section on the cult of Athena; Fanta "The Medusa/Athena" (forthcoming).

⁷³IvP no. 156 ll. 23-24.

⁷⁴See also below pp. 174-175.

⁷⁵See Chapter 4 pp. 98-100 (seduction scene), 121 (marriage scene).

⁷⁶See Chapter 1 p. 10 nn. 50-51.

⁷⁷Schmidt (1990) 141-162, esp. 147-150; Heres (1996) 96; (1997) 103.

⁷⁸Webb 71 n 100.

lion depicted on the Telephos frieze and the lions that were placed on the roof of the altar as symbols of the royal house.⁷⁹

The effect of the image must have been quite profound. The artist deliberately altered a very important element of the myth to incorporate the present into the past.⁸⁰ The change from deer to lioness would have been immediately detected and the allusion to the contemporary events successfully achieved. Rome's refusal to assist Eumenes in his last wars must have been received with a great deal of resentment by the Pergamenes, especially since they had been Rome's faithful allies in her wars against the Macedonians. Hence Eumenes' last victories must have boosted the Pergamenes' self-confidence and pride in their achievements; now they felt that they could stand without Rome's help.

Another surprising and hitherto unquestioned element of the Telephos frieze is the representation of two dead Scythian warriors as allies of Telephos in the Kaikos battle (Cat. no. 51). As noted in Chapter 4, on the mythical level there can be no plausible explanation for Scythian participation in Telephos' battle against the Greeks.⁸¹ Equally, on the historical level the introduction of Scythian allies does not seem to have any reference to contemporary reality; nowhere in Attalid history is an alliance with Scythia recorded. The question, therefore, arises whether Philostratos made a mistake and the Scythians depicted on the frieze were actually enemies rather than allies. Such an explanation would probably account for the particular way the Scythians are depicted on the frieze: they are being stripped of their armour - an act of humiliation and degradation.⁸² The act of despoliation is not infrequent in ancient Greek art but it usually occurs at the expense of an enemy, not an ally (Fig. 88).⁸³ The Attalids themselves were not strangers to this custom as the armour reliefs from the propylon of the Athena sanctuary indicate (Fig. 27).

On neither the mythical nor the historical level are there recorded wars fought by Telephos or the Attalids against the Scythians. The land of the Scythians forms the last border between Northern Europe and Greece, the river Ister (today's Danube) being the natural and conceptual border (Herodotos, *Histories* 4.48, Map 3). To invade Greece from the north one would have to cross into Thrace through the Scythian land and over the river Ister. Such an invasion was mounted in 279 BC by the Gauls, who continued later to pose a major threat to the European and Ionian Greeks, and against whom the Attalids fought

⁷⁹See below pp. 180-181.

⁸⁰The popularity of this element of the myth in the representational and literary record is proof enough that it was the most famous aspect of the myth; see Chapter 4 p. 116.

⁸¹See Chapter 4 p. 101-102.

⁸²Brueckner explained their involvement as a reference to the Attalid expansion in Thrace after the Macedonian defeat at Pydna (168 BC); see Chapter 1 p. 10 n. 50. Thraemer, on the other hand, explained the episode as an indication that the Pergamenes probably regarded the Mysians as descendants of the Moesi of the Danube; *Pergamos* (Leipzig 1888) 382-387.

⁸³Fig. 88: Slab 539 from the Amazonomachy frieze of the Bassae temple, in the British Museum (GR 18.15.10-20.14); Photo by A.S. Fanta. Ptolemy II Philadelphos set up by the banks of the river Nile the shields of the Gauls that he employed in the war against Magas of Cyrene (ca. 278 BC) after they attempted to seize control of Egypt; Pausanias 1.7.2

many victorious and important battles.⁸⁴ Considering the many allusions to the Attalid victories over the Gauls, it may be argued that in the Scythian warriors the viewer was probably intended to see the northern invasion and repulse of the Gauls.⁸⁵

The scene at the altar (panel 42, Cat. no. 62), where Telephos is holding baby Orestes up-side down, is arguably the most disturbing scene of the frieze not so much for the depiction of violence but for violence against a child and especially a Greek child. Such acts of cruelty were usually the territory of barbarians. However, as noted in Chapter 4, even Greeks were capable of such, if not greater, degrees of cruelty.⁸⁶ For instance, according to Herodotos (9.79), Pausanias' mutilation of corpses was an action more suited to a barbarian than a Greek. In the epic tradition such barbarous behaviour is usually performed by a Greek at the expense of a Trojan. Agamemnon, Ajax and Peneleos all behead the corpses of their foes.⁸⁷ Even though Iris claimed that Hektor wanted to stick Achilles' head on a stake (18.176-7), it was Achilles who actually subjected Hektor's body to a series of cruelties after refusing him decent burial (22.256-9). In the *Odyssey*, Melanthios had his ears and nose cut off by Telemachos and Odysseus' servants (22.475-7) even though body-mutilation was considered barbaric.⁸⁸ One could also recall the story of the hero Tydeus who split open the skull of the Theban Melanippos and swallowed his brains.⁸⁹ The dragging of a suppliant from a sanctuary is described as the "act of a barbarian hand" in Euripides' *Heraklidai* (l. 131). However, Ajax did not hesitate to drag Kassandra from the statue of Athena to which she had run for sanctuary, while the Greeks on the Bassae frieze drag and kill the Amazons who seek refuge at an altar of the gods.⁹⁰

On the Telephos frieze the Pergamene hero is threatening to kill the infant Orestes unless he be cured by Achilles. The image is indeed shocking and provoking but the violence is no less than on some of the earlier depictions of the scene. As noted in Chapter 4, there are examples from the earlier iconographic tradition where the hero is depicted

⁸⁴For the invasion of Greece by the Gauls see Chapter 2 n 15 p. 18. For the battles of the Attalids against the Gauls see Chapter 2 pp. 18-19.

⁸⁵See below B.2 pp. 155-156.

⁸⁶Chapter 4 pp. 134-135.

⁸⁷*Iliad* 11.261; 13.202-203; 14.496-498 (respectively).

⁸⁸Cf. e.g. Hdt. *Hist.* 3.159; 9.79; Aisch. *Suppliants* ll. 839-41, 904 (dated to ca. 492/1 BC); Soph. *Antigone* ll. 966-976 (dated to ca. 441 BC).

⁸⁹Aischylos *Seven against Thebes* l. 375 ff; Euripides *Phoenician Women* ll. 105ff, 1090ff.

⁹⁰For Kassandra's rape cf. e.g. Boardman *ARFVA* fig. 135; *ARFVC* fig. 1. For the Bassae frieze see slab 535. Hall dismisses modern reactions to these outbursts of barbaric violence as justified in the context of the "heroic code", citing the tragic hero Orestes who committed matricide; E. Hall, *Inventing the barbarian: Greek self-definition through tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1989) 25, 188-189. Euripides *Andr.* l.175 (murder within the family, a characteristic of barbarians); *Iph.Taur.* l.1174 (Orestes murders his mother). Hall argues that when the roles are reversed (Greeks acting as barbarians and barbarians as noble Greeks) it is usually because the author wishes to pass a particular message. For instance in Euripides' *Troades* (produced in the middle of the Peloponnesian war ca. 415 BC) the author makes Andromache cry out "ὦ βάρβαρ' ἐξευρόντες Ἕλληνες κακὰ" (= Greek devisers of barbaric cruelty l. 764), aiming at presenting the Spartans as capable of outrageous violence and the Trojans as victims of this barbaric behaviour; Hall 217-218.

acting just as violently as on the Pergamene frieze.⁹¹ The violence of the scene is also known from Euripides' eponymous play and Aristophanes' parodies of it.⁹² Thus it may be possible to suggest that to the ancient spectator the scene would not be sufficiently shocking for the viewer to question Telephos' tactics. The major events in the life of the hero Telephos and their iconographic representations were already known to the ancient viewer.

Instead one might argue that the emphasis was laid, rather, on the unavoidable course of future events. Among the strongest principles of Stoicism was belief in the predetermined course of events, that man's goal (*telos*) in life is to live in accordance with his own nature and the nature of the universe of which he is a part.⁹³ Cleanthes' prayer, cited by Epiktetos (*Manual* 53), says: "Lead me, Zeus, and you too Fate, to the place for which I am appointed by you; for I shall go without hesitating". On the Telephos frieze the hero's destiny was to be healed by the man who wounded him (Achilles) in order that he could go on and lead the Greeks to Troy as predetermined by the gods. The Trojan war and the events following the return of the Greeks back to their homeland would not have occurred without Telephos.⁹⁴ This belief in the predetermined course of events, which became a tenet in Stoicism, is found in earlier Greek thinking, e.g. a fragment from Euripides' *Telephos* where the eponymous hero begs Achilles to heal him saying: "But you should yield to necessity and not fight against the gods ..." (fr. 716).

Another instance where one can witness this belief in the predetermined course of events is in the panel depicting the wounding of Telephos (Cat. no. 54, panel 30). Even though the hero is wounded by Achilles he is depicted to Achilles' left, assuming the position reserved for the victor in the ancient Greek artistic convention.⁹⁵ On the only other surviving example of this scene (the Tegean pediment) Telephos also assumes the position of the victor.⁹⁶

Stewart believes that on the Tegean pediment the answer to this compositional problem lies in the relationship between Athena and Telephos; Telephos as a Heraklid would receive Athena's help.⁹⁷ On the Telephos frieze, he argues, the answer lies in the similar relationship between Telephos and Dionysos; Dionysos intervenes so that his protégé does not kill Achilles and the latter's predetermined heroic life is not cut short by his premature death (so that he can go on and perform his predestined *aristeia*). Dionysos

⁹¹ See Chapter 4 p. 117 n. 124.

⁹² op. cit.

⁹³ See above n. 40; Diog. Laer. 7.88

⁹⁴ See also Part B.3 (pp. 178-180) for the belief in fate and providence and how it is manifested on the altar's imagery.

⁹⁵ Cf. e.g.: Volute crater by Euphronios, "Herakles and Amazons", ca. 520-505 BC, in Arezzo Museo Civico 1465; Kalpis by the Kleophrades Painter, "Ajax and Cassandra", 505-475 BC, Naples Museo Nazionale 2422 from Nola; Boardman *ARFVA* figs. 29, 135 respectively.

⁹⁶ See Chapter 4 pp. 116-117.

⁹⁷ Skopas 64.

intervenes to prevent Telephos' victory and guarantee that the course of future events will not be interrupted by the untimely death of Achilles.⁹⁸

Stewart's convincing argumentation answers a fundamental problem in understanding the panel. The intervention of Dionysos guarantees not only that Achilles will not meet with premature death but that he will wound Telephos, who will consequently seek his cure in Argos and finally lead the Argive kings to Troy so that the Trojan war can take place. Telephos' wounding had to occur so that this future chain of events could materialise.

A further interesting element in this composition is the expression on Telephos' face (Cat. no. 54.3). Stewart argues that it is one of fear as Telephos looks into the eyes of Achilles.⁹⁹ But this explanation sits ill with the purpose of the frieze to glorify Telephos. The Pergamene viewer would hardly have accepted in his hero a look denoting fear of Achilles. For, it is difficult to believe that the Attalids would tolerate the deprecation of their mythical ancestor in such a manner.

In panel 31 (Cat. no. 55) Dionysos is depicted looking on. His smaller size in relation to the other figures has led to the suggestion that he is to be thought of as an apparition.¹⁰⁰ His position, as currently reconstructed, means that his gaze is focused below Telephos' nose. However, if the god was meant to be seen as an apparition it seems that, even though smaller in scale, he would have been placed higher on the panel. If one were to lift Dionysos' body approximately 0.05m upwards, then the gaze of the two figures would meet. This would not only enhance the effect of the apparition but would also avoid an awkward composition that would present the god as short. Such a readjustment would also be in accordance with the Greek iconographic tradition that represents the god taller or at least on the same ground line with the mortal.¹⁰¹

In this new position the hero Telephos is looking directly at Dionysos and not Achilles. Telephos' expression was not one of fear but of surprise and astonishment. Dionysos was his divine protector, and Telephos had no reason to fear him or expect his intervention in the contest on any side but his own. The god's intervention on the side of his enemy would naturally surprise and startle him.

Seeing the composition in this revised context, the belief in divine providence and fate becomes more apparent. Telephos is depicted on the left of the composition; for in the long run he is going to be the victor. Dionysos, his divine protector, intervenes to prevent him killing Achilles, but he is also there to guarantee that his protégé's life will be spared. Thus Achilles will go on to perform the "aristeia" for which he was chosen and Telephos will venture to Argos and receive his cure from Achilles who will have to comply with the gods' wishes; for without Telephos the Greeks will not find Troy.

⁹⁸*Telephos/Telepinu* 117-8.

⁹⁹*Skopas* 54.

¹⁰⁰Schraudolph 68.

¹⁰¹Cf. e.g.: Schefold (1992) figs. 13, 112, 301; Boardman *ARFVC* figs. 292.1, 179, 357; Smith (1991) figs. 212, 214-216 (votive reliefs).

This element of the myth has another very interesting twist that would have probably reflected upon contemporary Attalid history. Considering that the altar and its sculptural program is shod with political overtones and references to historical events, it is quite probable that in the duel between Telephos and Achilles, the ancient Pergamene would have identified the Attalid struggles against the Macedonians. This equation would have been aided by the fact that Telephos was the Pergamenes' mythical ancestor and Achilles was the ancestor of Alexander the Great (on his mother's, Olympias, side). Even though, this element of the myth was not an Attalid fabrication one cannot help but feel that the Attalids would have used it to make parallels between their mythical and heroic past and their contemporary world.

The idea that the hero's life was predetermined and that divine providence guided him in his life, reaches its climax in the last panel of the frieze depicting the heroized Telephos lying on a *kline* (Cat. no. 69 panel 48). The only other example that we have of the heroized Telephos comes from a votive relief found at the site of the Asklepieion; it depicts the hero riding a chariot and being approached by a worshipper (Fig. 63).¹⁰² As far as we can deduce from the surviving literary and artistic sources, this scene does not appear anywhere else apart from Pergamon.

In effect it could be argued that the frieze in its entirety, with all the interrelated elements that shed light on the narrative, recounts the hero's life, from its beginning to its end in heroization, as a divinely guided narrative like that of his father Herakles. Even before his birth his life was predetermined. A series of oracles led him from one stage to another, guiding him to perform his destiny so that the future course of events in the lives of those surrounding him could actually take place. Without Telephos the Argive princes would not have found Troy and the Trojan war would not have occurred. The house of Agamemnon would not have suffered the crimes of adultery and murder, as Agamemnon would never have left. Finally, if Telephos had not ventured to Mysia he would not have become king of the Mysians and the Pergamenes would not have been able to claim Hellenic descent.¹⁰³

Absence of inscriptions

Unlike the Gigantomachy frieze, the Telephos frieze was devoid of any inscriptions, something which has prompted some scholars to argue for its unfinished state.¹⁰⁴ However, there is a far more plausible explanation for the lack of inscriptions on the inner frieze. It narrated the life and deeds of the city's mythical founder, the ancestor of the Attalids. This life-story would probably have been known to most Pergamene citizens. Furthermore, the complexity and detail of the frieze's narrative indicates the likelihood that

¹⁰²See Chapter 4 n. 77 p. 108.

¹⁰³See below B.2 pp. 173-175.

¹⁰⁴See Chapter 1 pp. 8-9.

the frieze was the pictorial representation of an epic or some other form of poem on the hero's life.

Although there is no tangible evidence for the existence of such a poem, it is suggested that the Telephos saga must have been the subject of epic poetry by at least the reign of Eumenes II, if not before.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, anyone who had access to the inner court, and perhaps access was limited to a selected few, would have understood the frieze's narrative, hence no inscriptions. The inscriptions on the Gigantomachy frieze were intended to provoke the spectator into thinking of the allegorical meanings of the names of the gods (other than Olympians) and giants so that he would be able to make the association of good versus evil. The Telephos frieze was the already known and recognisable narration of the hero's life.

Echoes of earlier and contemporary works of art

Perhaps one of the most frequently mentioned features of the Pergamene friezes is the conscious reference to the earlier and contemporary works of art, for which the monument was often criticised as lacking in creativity and individuality.¹⁰⁶ However, recent opinion suggests that the aim was to first establish the Pergamene victories as another battle of the Greek civilised spirit against barbarism, equal to the great victories of earlier Greece (e.g. Greeks against Persians), and then to introduce their mythical ancestor among the heroes of the past.¹⁰⁷

This kind of interpretation, on the one hand, acknowledges the artistic contribution of the Pergamene sculptor (who borrows motifs but innovates and experiments with them), and on the other hand offers a plausible explanation for the systematic referencing of earlier works. The eye of the spectator is constantly excited by impressions of well-known and celebrated images of art. It is noteworthy that the images chosen from the past are all taken from motifs that were, more or less, associated with conflicts of civilisation versus barbarism, evil versus good - earlier Attalid monuments, labours of Herakles, the Gigantomachy from Ilion, the Laokoon group etc.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps the most famous and often quoted example is the Zeus/Athena group from the east side of the monument mirroring the Athena/Poseidon group from the Parthenon's west pediment. Its prominent position on the frieze (the first group to be viewed upon entrance to the Akropolis) probably indicates that the viewer was being prepared to view a monument that was similar in significance to the Parthenon. Nevertheless, before making any associations, or even attempting to understand the significance of all those echoes, it is necessary to explore how the image of

¹⁰⁵See also Part B.2 p. 175. The epic poets suggested so far are: Mousaios of Ephesos and Leschides both in the court of Eumenes II; see Chapter 2 p. 51 nn. 261-262; C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* (Berlin, 1921) 1149-1151; F. Schwenn, *RE* vol. V.A s.v. Telephos (1934) 362-369; Hansen 370-371, nn.124-127.

¹⁰⁶See Chapter 3 p. 89 nn. 194-195.

¹⁰⁷Stewart (1993) 165-166; Heres (1996) 101; (1997) 109.

¹⁰⁸See Chapter 3 pp. 89-93.

the barbarian was represented by the Pergamenes, and how the imagery of the monument was used to promote Attalid self-glorification.

Part B: The power of image

The aesthetic complexity of the Great Altar is typical of its time. In a single work one can find all the different characteristics of Hellenistic art: an interest in detail, expression of extreme passions, contrasting scenes of tranquillity and restrained emotionalism, the mixing of old and new, the fusion of different perspectives in time and space, the multi-layered appeal to the senses. Hellenistic literature parallels the subject matter and the wide range of "rhetorical" elements present in visual arts, especially painting.

Parallels between painting and poetry were apparent to the ancient world. According to Simonides painting is mute poetry and poetry is a speaking picture.¹⁰⁹ Aristotle uses painting as an analogy for his discussion of tragic representation, especially of *ethos* or character.¹¹⁰ Plato also compares the representation of an action or thing (*mimesis*) in poetry to that in painting.¹¹¹ One of the main reasons that painting, rather than sculpture, is used for comparison with poetry is probably the flexibility of the medium. In painting, there is more depth and space to introduce all the different elements that one can find in poetry, especially Hellenistic. However, in the case of the Great Altar the subject matter manages to incorporate most of the elements that appear individually in other works of art. For instance on the Laokoon group we witness the baroque element but not the fusion of time, or archaism. The Great Altar in its totality incorporates all the elements that constitute the Hellenistic aesthetic - such as baroque, allegories, fusion of time, archaism, and intertextuality with former works.

The end result is a balanced composition which in itself was the result of the artist's technique. The artist delights in experimenting with poses and overlapping compositions. Different degrees of chisel work create a variety of textures. On the external frieze a powerful and cluttered composition produces an effect of movement, drama, and anxiety. On the inner frieze the viewer's emotions descend or ascend following the narrative of the frieze. The space barrier between the object and the viewer is demolished and the latter is invited to join in the action depicted in the former.

The artist mixes old with new motifs, experiments with altering anything traditional, and thus produces a composition that is innovative and creative. The presentation is both learned and informative. Its different allusions to past and present and its conscious intertextuality challenge the viewer's own creative thinking and force him to participate and contribute to the making of the image. In the meantime, by juxtaposing the past and the present, the artist engages the viewer's interest by shattering the normal boundaries of time. The present is infused by the past, acquiring knowledge and meaning.

¹⁰⁹See above n. 57.

¹¹⁰*Poet.* 6.20-21.

¹¹¹*Rep.* 596-598.

In the search for affirmation, the present adapts to the requirements of the past and vice versa.¹¹² In essence what is being demonstrated is that the heroes of old (Telephos) are a living force in the contemporary world, reborn in the figures of today (Attalids) who draw their identity and self-definition from the past.

The Attalid kings were not philosophers. Even though they had been trained in the philosophical thinking and educated in the philosophical schools of Athens, the Attalids were rulers who sought ways to legitimise their actions. Under their patronage, Pergamon had become a major cultural centre especially during the time of Eumenes II when Stoicism and Krates had found a welcoming host. If Krates was invited to offer his knowledge of the various gods, their dominion, and the right choice of giants to face each god, then one might expect that Stoic influence on the monument would be inevitable. However, it is noteworthy that the philosophical ideas expressed on the friezes were for the most part notions deeply and more generally embedded in Greek culture and found, for instance, in the tragedies and the religious thinking of the ancient Greeks. For example, the idea of law and order in the universe can be found even as early as Hesiod's *Theogony*, where the gods of old are overthrown by the new order of Zeus and the Olympian gods. The idea of the four cardinal values that distinguish a Hellene from a barbarian can be found in the writings of Plato and the fifth-century BC tragedians.¹¹³ Finally, the idea of fate and providence is a belief that characterises Greek thinking since the epics of Homer.

It may be argued that the Attalids chose from Stoicism those ideas that would have been understood and probably accepted by most of the Greek people. Considering that Stoicism had found a home in the Attalid court, it is quite possible that the more educated levels of Pergamene society would be aware of its teachings and might employ their critical faculties once at the site of the altar. There may indeed be many subtle references in the monument to particular points of Stoic theology, about which we may be quite ignorant. However, the Great Altar was not a testimony to Stoic thinking, rather a public monument with an imagery that was intended to be understood by the majority of viewers, whether Pergamene or foreign.

In order to understand the imagery of the Great Altar, the monument has to be viewed against the cultural and political ambience of Pergamon. Its meaningful, even didactic, decoration aimed to bring out the Attalids' ancient tradition and its relevance to the present.

Within the 117 years of Attalid rule (283-166 BC) the city of Pergamon moved from a position of virtual obscurity to one of considerable power and strength in the region of Asia Minor and beyond (Greece as a whole).¹¹⁴ In the military field Attalos I (241-197 BC) and Eumenes II (197-159 BC) through a series of wars against various enemies

¹¹²See below B.2 pp. 173-175.

¹¹³See below n. 197.

¹¹⁴For Pergamon and its rivals see See Chapter 2 pp. 16-22.

(Gauls, Macedonians, Bithynians, Syrians etc.) managed to create a strong kingdom, including a large part of west Asia Minor, especially after the Treaty of Apamea (188 BC). As allies of the Romans they contributed to the Roman subjugation of the Macedonian kingdom at the battle of Pydna (168 BC). Their wars against the Gauls between the years 168-166 BC resulted in the complete subjugation of the barbarians and the establishment of peace in the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

A number of monuments were commissioned and erected, both in the city of Pergamon and in other Greek cities, commemorating the Attalid victories in war. The military successes and the enlargement of the kingdom resulted in a growing feeling of pride and self-confidence. This is ultimately seen in changes to the royal coinage where Athena, the city's patron deity, is depicted on the obverse crowning the name of the dynasty's founder Philetairos.

This boost in Pergamene self-confidence resulted in the desire to make their city a centre of cultural developments and achievements. An ambitious building program included sanctuaries (Aphrodision, Nikephorion), temples, (or additions to already existing temples), a gymnasium, and a library that was intended to house original manuscripts or at least copies of all the masterpieces of Greek literary genius. To head the library, the Stoic philosopher Krates of Mallos was invited by Eumenes II to Pergamon where he dedicated himself, primarily, to the study of the Homeric epics and their allegorical interpretation.

In the artistic field a number of famous artists were invited to work in Pergamon, their names attested by the surviving inscriptional evidence; copies and originals of famous works of art were brought into the city. A number of festivals were introduced celebrating the city's most important deities (Nikephoria, Dionysia, Panathenaia). The most famous festival celebrating the city's patron deity Athena, the Nikephoria Stephanitas, acquired a pan-hellenic status in 181 BC on a par with the Olympic and Pythian games.

Pergamon's growing power in Asia Minor was not welcomed by Rome who after the defeat of her primary enemy (the Macedonians) refused to help Pergamon against the Gauls, hoping that Eumenes would lose and that his power would thus be diminished. However, by 166 BC Eumenes had not only managed to defeat his most hated enemies but had also joined the major cities of his kingdom in a powerful economic alliance represented by the kistophoric coinage that further strengthened the prosperity and power of the kingdom of Pergamon.

To maintain all this, the Attalids had to appear as worthy leaders of the Greek cities of Asia Minor and this could only be achieved by presenting themselves as true Hellenes defending their country and their neighbours from barbarous invaders. The Great Altar with its sculptural decoration was the visual expression of this claim to legitimacy, just as the Parthenon was for the 5th century BC Athenians, and the temple of Caesar with the Forum Augustum was for the Roman emperor Augustus.

1. "Inventing the barbarian"

One of the few issues on which modern scholars seem to agree, when it comes to the Great Altar, is that the monument in its entirety celebrated the Attalid victories in war as a battle of good versus evil, of civilisation versus barbarism.¹¹⁵ To achieve this, they had to present their foes as barbarians and themselves as true Hellenes, descendants of Greek blood and therefore worthy defenders of civilisation. They had to distinguish themselves as superior to their enemies in order to legitimize their actions.

The image of the barbarian was invented in fifth century BC Athens to refer to the genus of the non-Greeks as opposed to the civilised genus of the Hellenes. According to Hall, for the 5th century BC Athenian tragedians, "any behaviour suggesting that someone was breaking the 'Laws of Hellas', transgressing their socially authorised role, or was in danger of committing *hubris* could now be defined as not-Greek".¹¹⁶ Since, then, barbarism took various forms at different moments in time and for different people, it could be applied to non-Greeks (e.g. Persians) or to a Greek who surrendered to the ways of the east (see below) or, even today, to anyone who violates the laws of human decency.

The occasion for this "invention of the barbarian" was the Persian invasion of mainland Greece. Before the 5th century the term *barbaros* had a clear reference to someone speaking a language other than Greek (*barbarophonos*) and it was never used in the plural to denote the entire non-Greek world.¹¹⁷ The word *barbaros* is particularly Attic; it does not seem to have been used by the Spartans who continued to call the Persians *xeinoi*; nor is it used by Simonides who prefers instead the words Medes or Persians.¹¹⁸ In fact, there seems to be hardly any evidence for the use of the word to describe the entire genus of non-Greeks, before the first Persian invasion and the battle of Marathon (490 BC).

The conceptualisation of the conflict with Persia as a battle between the disciplined and civilised Greeks against violent and decadent barbarians resulted in the "invention of the barbarian". The change occurred in Athens and the motive behind it was mainly political.¹¹⁹ The appearance of the Persians as a threat occurred simultaneously with the turn in Athens from tyranny to democracy. Athens was ruled by a tyrant (Peisistratos) from the middle of the 6th century BC until his death in 528/7 BC. He was succeeded by his son Hippias, under whose rule the conflict between tyrant and the people became more

¹¹⁵See Chapter 1 *Function and Purpose* p. 15.

¹¹⁶Hall 204.

¹¹⁷Hall 19-21. On the development of the word *barbaros* to describe "all non-Greek peoples" and an extensive summary on related works see: Hall 1-19 ; H.H. Bacon *Barbarians in Greek Tragedy* (New Haven 1961); T. Long, *Barbarians in Greek Comedy* (Carbondale 1986); W. Raack, *Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (diss. Bonn 1981); R. Müller, "Hellenen und Barbaren in der griechischen Philosophie", *Menschenbild und Humanismus der Antike* (Leipzig 1980) 111-134 and A.G. Nikolaidis, "Ellinikos - Barbarikos" *WS* 20 (1986) 229-244 on Greek thought..

¹¹⁸Spartans: Hdt. 9.11.2, 9.55.2; Simonides: Page (1975) V.1, VI.1 (Medes), and XV.3 (Persians).

¹¹⁹N. Loraux, *The Invention of Athens. The Funeral Oration in the Classical City* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press 1986) 208; Hall 58-59, 67-69.

acute. Hippias' brother Hipparchos was murdered during the Panathenaic festival in 514 BC.¹²⁰ Hippias fearing for his life became paranoically tyrannical, until he was finally deposed by the Alkmaionid family, aided by Sparta, in 510 BC. The new Athenian democracy mythologized Hipparchos' assassins (Harmodios and Aristogeiton) and the event was commemorated in a famous group by Antenor, which came to symbolise the liberation of the Athenian people from tyranny (Fig. 89).¹²¹

To maintain close control of their empire, the Persian kings had established a system of local satrapies over the area incorporating the Greek cities of Asia Minor - a form of government that lasted until the 4th century BC.¹²² The deposed Hippias fled to the Persian court and followed the Persians at Marathon (490 BC), hoping to be re-instated in Athens. However, the Persians were defeated by a handful of Athenians. Spoils from the Athenian victory were displayed at Athens and at Marathon itself as material proof of Greek supremacy over barbarism.¹²³ The defeat of the Persians was seen as the defeat of the violent tyrant. According to Plutarch, Theseus was seen at Marathon fighting alongside the Athenians.¹²⁴ Tyranny came to be associated with Persia and the association became more apparent in the 480s when three aristocrats suspected of tyrannical intentions were ostracized.¹²⁵

The term *barbaros*, describing the entire Persian genus, appears for the first time in Aischylos' *Persai* which celebrated the Athenian victories over Persia (dated ca. 472 BC). This tragedy is our earliest testimony to the absolute distinction in Greek thought between the Hellene (Greek) and the barbarian (non-Greek).¹²⁶ In the play the barbarians are made to behave in ways which fall short of the standards of Hellenic virtue: they are emotional, stupid, cruel, subservient or cowardly. For example in line 371 Xerxes threatens to behead every one of his sea captains, while craven fear seizes all the barbarians on hearing the Greeks singing their paeon (l. 391). In lines 374 and 422 the barbarians flee before the disciplined Greek army. However, their biggest flaws were their love of excessive wealth and luxury, and their subservient nature that contrasted with the egalitarian and simple

¹²⁰It is debated whether Hipparchos' assassination was part of a popular revolutionary movement or motivated by a personal feud; A.R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks: the Defence of the West, c. 546-478 BC*, 2nd edition by D.M. Lewis (1962; London Duckworth 1984) 175; W.R. Connor, "Theseus in Classical Athens" in *The quest for Theseus* ed. A.G. Ward (London: Pall Mall Press, 1970) 150; M.W. Taylor, *The Tyrant Slayers: The Heroic Image in Fifth-Century BC Athenian Art and Politics* (New York 1981); Stewart (1990) 135-136.

¹²¹Antenor's group was stolen by the Persians during the sack of the city in 480/479 BC, and was replaced in 477/6 BC by another bronze group. S. Brunn'sker, "The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes", *Acta Inst. Atheniensis Regni Sueciae*, Ser. in 4 no. 17 (Stockholm 1971); Stewart (1990) 135-136; Boardman CS fig. 3; copy of an original ca. 475 BC, from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, in Naples G 103-4 (Fig. 89).

¹²²Burn 109-111, 123-126.

¹²³Hdt. 8.121; see also D.B. Thompson, "The Persian Spoils in Athens" *The Aegean and the Near East*, Studies in H. Goldman (New York 1956) 281-291.

¹²⁴Plutarch *Theseus* 35.

¹²⁵One of them was Kallias (son of Kratios) who was nicknamed "the Mede" and presented on one ostrakon with Persian clothes; G. Daux, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1967" *BCH* 92 (1968) 732; R. Thomsen, *The origin of Ostracism* Humanitas IV (Copenhagen, 1972) 97-98.

¹²⁶Although the Greeks used the term *barbaros* to designate the Persians alone (Thuc. 1.82.1), the term began to be used as referring to the entire non-Greek world in the *Persai* (l. 434).

Athenian society.¹²⁷ According to Plato one of the four cardinal values of Hellenic virtue was *sophrosyne* (discipline or restraint).¹²⁸ *Sophrosyne* tempered all the passions and guided the individual to live according to measure, avoiding all extremes. Many of the barbarians in Greek tragedy are represented as having unrestrained emotions, of which the abandonment to dirge (*threnos*) was the most characteristic.¹²⁹

The old and familiar mythical conflicts were adopted by the Athenians for patriotic ends. Around the time of the fall of the tyranny, Amazons begin to be represented wearing clothes with Persian details.¹³⁰ The Persian invasion of Attica and the sack of the city, just before the battle of Salamis (480 BC), probably found its mythical counterpart in the newly introduced myth of the Amazons' invasion of the city and their repulsion by the hero Theseus. The date of the introduction of this element in Theseus' mythology is debated but Boardman has argued, in my view quite convincingly, that it was probably inspired by the Persian invasions especially that of 480/79 BC.¹³¹ The myth made its first appearance on the paintings of Mikon on the walls of the Theseion (the paintings; ca. 470-465 BC) and the Stoa Poikile (ca. 460 BC) alongside the Trojan war, the battle of Oinoe, and the battle of Marathon where Theseus also appears.¹³²

The cumulative victories of the Athenians over the Persians, between the years 490-480/479 BC, were celebrated on the most impressive building of 5th century Athens, the Parthenon (447-432 BC). The temple became identified as the epitome of Athenian civic pride.¹³³ It was built as a thank offering to Athena Parthenos for the victories over the Persians, after the earlier temple (begun after the Marathon battle) had been destroyed by the Persians during the sack of the city. Its metopes depicted the mythical battles which now came to symbolise the struggle of civilised Hellenes against uncivilised barbarians: an Amazonomachy (west), an Ilioupersis (north), a Gigantomachy (east), and a

¹²⁷References to their luxurious nature are scattered throughout the play cf. e.g. ll. 9, 45, 53, 79-80, 159 842, see also Hall 80-81. Their subservient nature is demonstrated in the act of prostration ll. 152, 499, 694-6, and in their speeches of flattery ll. 173-174; 150-180 which is implicitly contrasted with the Athenian equality and free speech ll. 592-3.

¹²⁸Plato *Resp.* 4.427e 10-11; see also below n. 129.

¹²⁹Cf. e.g. ll. 120-125, 468 (the king tearing his clothes and screaming after the destruction of his fleet at Salamis), 537-583. Hall noticed that grief is also found in the tragedies and in the Homeric epics practised by Greeks and even goddesses. However in the *Persai* it is the excessive form of lamentation practised also by men that is condemned as barbarian; Hall 83-84 with references to other studies on Greeks lamenting. For examples of other tragedies depicting the barbarians as Aischylos see Hall 121-133.

¹³⁰Red-figure cup by Oltos depicting the rape of Antiope (dated to ca. 510 BC), in Oxford 1927.4065; (1992) 171 fig. 210. Cf. also Boardman *ARFVC* figs. 12, 94, 133, 222, 225, 230, 236 etc.

¹³¹J. Boardman, "Herakles, Theseus and Amazons" in *The Eye of Greece* ed. D. Kurtz, B. Sparkes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1982) 13-14, 27-28. The myth of the rape of Antiope is an independent element in the hero's mythology, making its appearance ca. 510 BC on Athenian black and red-figure vases (see previous note); Plutarch *Theseus* 26; Boardman (1982) 8-9; H.J. Walker, *Theseus and Athens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995) 44, n.70 argues that it appears ca. 520 BC. On the Amazonomachy from the Athenian Treasury at Delphi see below p. 175 and n. 179.

¹³²See below B.2. n. 186. Pausanias 1.15.2-3 (Stoa Poikile); 1.17.2 (Theseion). The earliest literary reference to the invasion of Attica by the Amazons comes from Aischylos' *Eumenidai* (ll. 685-9; dated to ca. 458 BC).

¹³³Plut. *Perikles* 12.4: the Parthenon became a witness to "the everlasting glory" of their accomplishments

Centauromachy (south).¹³⁴ The Amazons' attack on Athens, symbolising the Persian sack of the city, was also depicted in relief on the outside of the shield of Pheidias' statue of Athena Parthenos (Fig. 90); the inside depicted a painted Gigantomachy.¹³⁵

The west and east friezes of the Hephaisteion (dated to ca. 449-444 BC; Fig. 91) depicted respectively, the Centauromachy and the newly established battle of Theseus against the sons of Pallas for the crown of Athens.¹³⁶ As Connor noted, on the friezes the hero is represented in the position of the tyrannicides and as defender of democracy and civilisation against tyranny (Pallantids) and primitive barbarism (Centauromachy).¹³⁷ Ultimately, the battles against the Persians are now represented as reiterations of the gods' and heroes' wars against the Giants, Amazons, Centaurs, and Trojans alongside representations of historical battles.¹³⁸

In Attalid Pergamon, the barbarian took the form of a Gaul (and anyone who allied with them) against the freedom of the Greeks in Asia Minor. It would not have been difficult for the Pergamenes to present the Gauls as barbarians since their reputation had already been established at least as early as Kallimachos.¹³⁹ The Greeks of Asia Minor, including Pergamon during the rule of Eumenes I (263-241 BC), paid heavy tribute to the Gauls in exchange for immunity from plundering.¹⁴⁰ When Attalos I (241-197 BC) decided to put an end both to the tribute and menacing power of the Gauls in Asia Minor, the move was welcomed by the Pergamenes. In fact, Attalos' first victory over the Gauls (241 BC) was the event that put him on the throne of Pergamon and gave him the title *Soter*.

The decrees issued from the cities of Asia Minor and the mainland, declaring the Attalids Saviours for their wars against the Gauls, are a further testimony to the importance

¹³⁴Simonides fr. 11 West² is the most important early testimony for the equation of Troy = Persia. In art, the Ilioupersis came to symbolise the battle of Greeks against barbarians towards the end of the 6th century BC; on a Black figure amphora (ca. 500 BC; Bonn Akademisches Museum 39) the king Priam has turned into a tyrant who is being killed by Neoptolemos in the pose of Aristogeiton. The Gigantomachy had since the 6th century BC been established as the battle of the civilised gods of the Greek polis against the earlier gods of primordial chaos.

¹³⁵Fig. 90: Drawing reconstruction of the Amazonomachy on the Parthenos shield, based on the shield from the "Patras Statuette" dated to the 2nd century AD, in the Patras Museum, after E.B. Harrison; "The Composition of the Amazonomachy on the shield of the Athena Parthenos" *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 107-133. The shield does not survive but a number of copies provide us with valuable information for its reconstruction: cf. e.g.: Boardman CS figs.98, 107-108, 109; Leipen 46-50 with a brief summary of all the proposed reconstructions. On the Gigantomachy reconstruction see Chapter 3 p. 76 n. 139.

¹³⁶Fig. 91: Drawing reconstruction of the east frieze from the Hephaisteion in Athens (dated to ca. 449-444 BC), in *situ*, depicting the battle of Theseus against the Pallantids (fig. 15 has been identified as Theseus assuming the pose of one of the Tyrannicides, Harmodios); Boardman CS fig. 112. The north and south metopes depicted the deeds of Theseus (8 in total); the east metopes depicted 10 labours of Herakles.

¹³⁷Connor 153-155, ill.160-161; On the west frieze he has adopted the position of Aristogeiton (the figure on the left of 160) and on the east frieze that of Harmodios (the figure on left of 161).

¹³⁸Cf. e.g. the Amazonomachy and the Trojan war on the Stoa Poikile painted alongside the battle of Marathon and the battle of Oinoe; see above n. 132. Or even the Battle of Marathon sculpted on the south frieze of the temple of Athena Nike in Athens (dated to ca. 420 BC) alongside other historical battles; Stewart (1990) pls. 413-416.

¹³⁹See above n. 41; Kallimachos' *Hymn to Delos* 170-177.

¹⁴⁰See Chapter 2 p. 17.

of those wars.¹⁴¹ The image of the Attalids as defenders of civilisation over barbarism is further attested by official Pergamene art. The Attalid dedications, both inside and outside Pergamon, depicted the superiority of the Pergamenes over their enemies. Gauls are depicted falling or dying under the impact of the Pergamene blows. Contrary to Pollitt, those dying figures would probably not have been viewed as "noble savages".¹⁴² These people had been ravaging and plundering the Greek cities, extracting heavy tributes, and leaving nothing but devastation. It seems highly unlikely that the Pergamenes would have represented them in such a noble manner or that any Greek would see them in that light. Furthermore, on the Attalid dedications (Long Base and Lesser dedication) the victors were represented on horseback, trampling the bodies of their enemies - hardly an ennobling image for the Gauls.¹⁴³ One may also add that the giants, representing the Gauls on the external frieze of the Great Altar, are certainly not open to the "noble savage" theory. The idea of the "noble savage" should probably be viewed as a modern misconception of Pergamene art.

This feeling of pride for the victories in war is further attested by Attalid court art particularly seen in the imagery of two cameos signed by Athenion who worked at the court of Eumenes II.¹⁴⁴ The one is a cameo of sardonyx in Naples representing Zeus driving a quadriga over two serpent-legged giants (Fig. 92).¹⁴⁵ Two glass paste copies of another sardonyx cameo survive in Berlin and London representing a beardless man standing in a chariot drawn by two horses with Athena as the charioteer (Fig. 93).¹⁴⁶ He is wearing a diadem and a cuirass, and is holding a sceptre in his left hand. He has been identified as Eumenes II based on the likeness with the face of the man on the obverse of a coin portrait attributed to him (Fig. 14.1-2).¹⁴⁷

If the figure on the second cameo can be identified as Eumenes II then the imagery is reminiscent of the theatrical return of Peisistratos to Athens in 556 BC. According to Herodotos' testimony (1.60.3-5), Peisistratos dressed a tall woman up as Athena and sent heralds proclaiming that the goddess was escorting him back to her city on her chariot. On the Pergamene example the king is shown in a chariot with Athena, the city's patron-deity, as his charioteer leading him to victory. The imagery used here is comparable to a cameo from the reign of Augustus which celebrates his victory over Mark Antony at the battle of Actium (Fig. 94).¹⁴⁸ Augustus, likened to Neptune (holding a trident), is riding a quadriga drawn by hippocamps. Under the hoofs of the beasts an enemy is depicted sinking beneath the waves. The message of the imagery is the same, Augustus emerging victorious over

¹⁴¹ See Chapter 2 p. 18 n. 18, p. 19 n.24.

¹⁴² Pollitt 96-97; cf. also Smith (1991) 103.

¹⁴³ See Chapter 2 pp. 39, 41.

¹⁴⁴ Hansen 341-342.

¹⁴⁵ A. Furtwängler, "Studien über die Gemmen mit Künstlerinschriften", *Jdl* 3 (1888) 215-216, pl. 8.19; idem *Die antiken Gemmen* (Berlin, 1900) pl. 57.2 (Fig. 92).

¹⁴⁶ Fig. 93: Furtwängler (1888) 113-115, pl. 3.3 (Berlin copy).

¹⁴⁷ On the coin see Chapter 2 pp. 25-26 and App. 2; Furtwängler (1888) 113-115; (1900) 3.158.

¹⁴⁸ Fig. 94: In Boston, Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts inv. 27.733; P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* tr. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1988) 97 fig. 82.

his defeated enemy. The fact that Antony had sided with an eastern queen effectively classed him as a "barbarian". This cameo goes one step further than the Eumenes intaglio in giving the victor divine attributes.

The imagery of the Great Altar was carefully chosen to emphasize the notion that the Attalid wars were struggles of civilisation against barbarism. For this the artist turned to the mythical repertory and the ultimate Gigantomachy battle. Through a series of allegories and metaphors the gods were portrayed as the Attalids, and the giants as the Gauls and their allies.¹⁴⁹

The bodies of the defeated giants assume the positions of the dying Gauls from the earlier Attalid dedications, just as the Amazons in Athenian art acquire Persian attire. The recurrent allusions to Macedonian weapons and armour emphasised the fact that they, too, were to be classified as barbarians. The Macedonians, although Greek in origin, had behaved as barbarians by allying themselves with the Gauls and seeking to deprive Greeks of their freedom. This imagery would have been further emphasised by the use of emotional expression. As noted above, unrestrained emotionalism was characteristic of a barbarian.¹⁵⁰ This belief became a tenet of Stoicism. The expressions on the faces of the giants were those of agonising fear and distress, which in effect were two of the four main *pathe* that, according to the Stoics, destroyed the harmony of the soul and obstructed the right function of Reason (the other two being desire and pleasure).¹⁵¹ They were unnatural and responsible for the evil that men do, and therefore had to be extirpated.¹⁵²

There is also an interesting introduction into the myth of Telephos which recalls earlier Athenian mythmaking. On the Telephos frieze the hero is depicted in contemporary garb warding off foreign invaders. The imagery recalls the fabrication of the myth of the Amazons' invasion of Attica and their repulse by the native hero Theseus. As noted above, the myth of the invasion of Attica was in all likelihood introduced into Theseus' heroic mythology after the city of Athens had been invaded and sacked by the Persians in 480/79 BC.¹⁵³ The defeat of the Amazons by Theseus probably alluded to the cumulative victories of the Athenians over Persian invaders in the years between 490 and 480/479 BC. In the same way, on the Telephos frieze the eponymous hero is depicted fighting off foreign invaders just as his descendants fought off the Gauls. One could perhaps take it even further and suggest that the overlapping figures of the two Scythian warriors may have recalled the figures of the two dead Amazons lying in the foreground of the Parthenos' shield (Fig. 90).¹⁵⁴ A similar pose is acquired by the dead Amazon of the *Lesser Gauls* monument in Athens (Fig. 24.2).¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹See above pp. 146-149.

¹⁵⁰See above n. 129.

¹⁵¹Diog. Laer. VII.110 (*SVF* I 211); Aspasius in Aristotle's *Eth. Nic.* p.45, 16 Heylb. (*SVF* III 386); Seneca, *Epistulae* 116.1; de Vogel 1058-1059.

¹⁵²Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* IV.26.56.

¹⁵³See above n. 131.

¹⁵⁴For the reconstruction of the Parthenos' shield see Harrison (1966) 107-133; see also above n. 117. The similarity between the Scythians and the two Amazons becomes more apparent if one (on the reconstruction of Harrison) places the figure on the right over the figure on the left.

¹⁵⁵See Chapter 2 p. 42 n. 195.

The many similarities between figures and motifs on the Altar and on the Parthenon together with the Attalid monument in Athens indicate that the Attalids were making a conscious effort to compare and equate their victories over the Gauls with the Athenian victories over the Persians. Three hundred years before the Attalids, the Athenians had offered their aid to the Greeks of Asia Minor who were rebelling against Persian tyranny. The defeat of the Persians was of paramount importance for the subsequent freedom of the Greek people and the Athenian victories acquired the status of panhellenic victories typifying the triumph of the civilised Greek spirit over the uncivilised barbarian. The Attalids were, in a sense, returning the favour by defending the Greeks of Asia Minor and mainland Greece from Gallic savagery.

For the Attalids and especially for Eumenes II, the defeat of the Gauls and their allies was equivalent to the defeat of the Persians by the Athenians. Such a claim was probably not that difficult to make considering that the outcome of their wars was important not just to the Pergamenes but to the Greeks of Asia Minor and all mainland Greece as well. In the words of the Ionian League, Eumenes II had become "the common benefactor of the Greeks for his many great struggles against the barbarians ... so that the Greek cities might always dwell in peace and prosperity".¹⁵⁶ The Pergamene victory must have come as a surprise to the Romans who wanted to see Eumenes fail.¹⁵⁷ The Great Altar would have celebrated this triumph. It had become what the Parthenon was for the Athenians: a testimony to the glory of their city, the epitome of their civic pride.

The image of the barbarian took a different form under Octavian.¹⁵⁸ The age of Augustus is important to the understanding of Attalid mythmaking as the art and literature in the former was explicitly employed in the service of political power. Augustan art and its frequent self-advertising use becomes instrumental to the understanding of the more subtle and allusive, but nonetheless effective, Attalid art.

In his struggle for power, Octavian's main rival was his brother-in-law Mark Antony, general of the Eastern provinces. Together with Mark Antony and Lepidus, Octavian had formed the triumvirate of 37 BC. The rivalry between the two (Octavian and Antony), which finally led to civil war and Octavian's acquisition of sole power in 31 BC, was reaching its climax when Antony began his liaison with Cleopatra in 41 BC.

In Rome the propaganda campaign against Antony manifested itself in art and literature.¹⁵⁹ It soon became easy for Octavian and his followers to depict Antony as the

¹⁵⁶ Welles no. 52 ll. 8-13.

¹⁵⁷ Pol. 30.1.6; Allen 142 n.18

¹⁵⁸ On the image of the barbarian in Roman literature see J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (London 1979); Y.A. Dauge, *La Barbare: recherches sur la conception romaine de la barbarie et de la civilisation* (Brussels 1981); T.E.J. Wiedemann, "Between men and beast: barbarians in Ammianus Marcellinus" in *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing* eds. I.S. Moxon, J.D. Smart, A.J. Woodman (Cambridge 1986) 189-201.

¹⁵⁹ Zanker 57-65; J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (reprint London 1985) on Antony's followers in Rome; K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1996) 221-224, 372.

barbarian, when the latter began to indulge himself in the pleasures of the Egyptian court. According to the words of Cassius Dio (50.5):

"He (Antony) referred to his army headquarters as the royal palace, wore an oriental dagger in his belt, and dressed in a totally unroman fashion. He appeared in public either on a *kline*, as Dionysos, or on a golden throne like a king. He commissioned paintings and statues of himself with Cleopatra, he as Osiris or Dionysos, she as Selene or Isis."

M. Valerius Messala Corvinus wrote two (now lost) polemics against Antony, *de Antoniis statuis* and *contra Antonii litteras*, in which it is very likely that Antony was attacked for foreign decadence and corruption.¹⁶⁰ This image of Antony as the decadent foreigner is also expressed in Augustan art. Several clay bowls from Perennius' workshop in Arezzo have been found dating from the early Augustan Age. On these bowls Antony and Cleopatra were likened to Herakles and Omphale (dated to ca. 30 BC; Fig. 95).¹⁶¹ Herakles/Antony is depicted reclining in a chariot drawn by centaurs, wearing transparent almost female clothes. He is looking back at Omphale/Cleopatra who is following in another chariot drawn by centaurs. She is wearing Herakles' lion-pelt as a helmet over her head and is wielding the hero's club.

That the myth of Herakles and Omphale was used as a parody of Antony's and Cleopatra's relationship is also attested by Plutarch, who records that "just as in the paintings Omphale is taking Herakles' club and donning his lion-skin, so did Cleopatra disarm Antony and made sport of him".¹⁶²

The idea that love of luxury is equated with barbarism was something already expressed in the works of the 5th century BC Athenian tragedians. In Aischylos' *Agamemnon*, the eponymous hero after his return from Troy is presented as having rejected the Greek values urged by his wife Klytaimnestra, in favour of the luxury of the oriental courts.¹⁶³ Klytaimnestra's decline into decadent opulence is further attested in Euripides' *Elektra* where she arrives to visit her daughter in a chariot accompanied by Phrygian slave women of whom she is extremely proud (ll. 998-1003). In Euripides' *Troades* Hekabe taunts Helen by saying that Menelaos' court could not provide the means by which she could indulge her indecent taste for barbarian luxury and servility (l. 997).

This image of luxurious decadence was carefully exploited in Augustan art to present Antony as the barbarian and Augustus as the true Roman. Two votive reliefs (dated ca. 30 BC) are especially interesting because they allegorically juxtapose the image of the pious Augustus, loyal to Rome and her gods, with that of the decadent traitor

¹⁶⁰Zanker 58.

¹⁶¹Fig. 95: Zanker fig. 45a-b, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 19.192.21. A.C. Brown *Catalogue of Italian Terra-Sigillata in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford* (1986) 15, no.37.

¹⁶²Plutarch *Antony* 3.3.

¹⁶³Hall 205. In ll. 895-902 Klytaimnestra is performing the act of prostration before her husband, an act that was condemned in Aischylos' *Persai* as being barbaric (ll. 152, 499, 694-696). For the debate on whether Klytaimnestra actually performed the act of prostration see Hall 206-207, and 205-208 for more references to Agamemnon's orientalisation.

Antony.¹⁶⁴ On one relief the drunken Dionysos supported by satyrs and his thiasos approaches a devotee who is reclining on a couch (Fig. 55.2).¹⁶⁵ Next to the devotee reclines a woman admiring the god's epiphany. On a small votive relief behind Dionysos is depicted a Victory in a galloping chariot (this element of the scene survives on one of the replicas). On the other relief, the Apollonian Triad approaches an altar (Fig. 96).¹⁶⁶ Victory pours wine into Apollo's *phiale* for a libation, while his sister Diana and mother Latona solemnly follow. In the background one can see Augustus' temple to Apollo on the Palatine hill.

The difference in the style of the two reliefs is quite prominent. The Dionysian (Antony's) relief is full of the passion and expressiveness of the art of the earlier Hellenistic kings - a style that was thoroughly condemned in Rome as aesthetically unattractive and expressive of moral decadence.¹⁶⁷ The Apollonian (Augustan) relief, on the other hand, is characterised by an archaizing style very much influenced by Athenian art, interested in ritualistic solemnity, devoid of any expression and passion, which was soon to become the style of the new regime.¹⁶⁸ The interest of Augustan art in earlier Athenian art and especially the Parthenon frieze, as the ultimate expression of religious piety and morality opposed to the more flamboyant and morally decadent Hellenistic style, is particularly expressed in the Ara Pacis.¹⁶⁹

From the above it becomes apparent that there is a continuous tradition of propagandistic art in antiquity whose three high-points are: the Parthenon and other Athenian buildings; the Pergamon Altar and other Pergamene buildings; and the Ara Pacis with other Augustan buildings. The three can be read together and played off against one another. Art is employed in the service of political propaganda that uses local myth in search for affirmation and self-definition. The Augustan example is the most explicit one making "loud" statements on its authenticity and legitimacy. On the other hand the Athenian example uses myth to refer to contemporary events. Its propaganda is more subtle and implicit and is understood especially when played against contemporary literature. Athenian art uses the established iconographic tradition (the mythical battles) and slowly incorporates new elements to project the image of its own political identity. The Pergamene example is somewhere between the Athenian and the Augustan. It fuses contemporary events into myth to gain legitimacy but is very careful in making explicit

¹⁶⁴They were set in the wall of a room as decoration; A.H. Borbein, *Campanareliefs* (Heidelberg 1968) 183ff. The connection of this pictorial style with Antony had already been noticed by G. Méautis, *Arch. Eph.* 1 (1937) 27.

¹⁶⁵See Chapter 4 p. 99 n. 24.

¹⁶⁶Fig. 96: Rome Villa Albani inv. 1014; Zanker fig. 50.

¹⁶⁷Seneca *Epistles* 114.1; Suetonius (*Augustus* 86.2) argued that Antony's style was derived from the ornate and expressive "Asiatic" style popular in the Greek east.

¹⁶⁸Augustus' Atticizing style is part of the general trend that started in the middle of the 2nd century BC, where Athenian works of the fifth and fourth century BC and even models from the Archaic period (Archaizing) are used; Pollitt 169-184 (175-184 on Archaism). Zanker 63-64; on the archaizing reliefs with the Apollonian Triad see H-U Cain, *Römische Marmorkandelaber* (Mainz 1985) 100ff.

¹⁶⁹On the Ara Pacis see below p. 178.

remarks. Instead it exploits the various elements of the Hellenistic technique to direct the viewer in making the necessary correlations. It is allusive and informative, and delights in puzzling and exciting the viewer's imagination.

2. Old myth in a new guise - the Attalid relation to their mythical past

The Pergamon of the Attalid kings was an impressive city, filled with monuments of victory and beautiful temples dedicated to their divine protectors. However, the new kingdom and the Attalids' dominant power in it required a legitimacy drawn from the past. As residents of Asia Minor, and thus geographically separated from mainland Greece, they were automatically within the borders of the oriental people. For the ancient Greeks ethnicity was of considerable importance; the ability to present proof of his background distinguished Greek from barbarian. According to Herodotos there were four basic factors uniting all Greeks against all others: "... our shared blood and language, our common temples and rituals, our similar way of life". The most important was the blood affiliation.¹⁷⁰

For the Attalids the claim to Hellenic descent was answered by the myth of the hero Telephos, son of Herakles and the Tegean princess Auge.¹⁷¹ The hero, though Greek by blood, was Mysian by residence as a result of his search for his mother. He became the founder of the city of Pergamon and the Pergamenes came to be known as "*Telephidai*" (sons of Telephos).¹⁷² That the hero's ethnicity could have posed a problem for the Pergamenes is attested in Euripides' eponymous play *Telephos*.¹⁷³ In the prologue the hero explains how he ventured to Mysia where he found his mother and acceded to the Mysian throne, effectively becoming "a Greek ruling over barbarians" (fr. 696 l. 14). The hero's ethnicity was probably contested at some point in the play: in one fragment the question was posed (perhaps by Achilles) "shall we, as Greeks, be slaves to barbarians?" (fr. 719). Ultimately Telephos is acknowledged as Greek by the Argive princes and the chorus predicts that he will guide the Greeks to Troy "for Tegean Hellas, not Mysia, bore you ..." (fr. 727c ll. 1-8).¹⁷⁴

Having established that they were Greeks in origin, the Attalids proceeded to present themselves as worthy of their ancestry and origin. In Pergamon, the monument

¹⁷⁰ *Hist.* 8.144. For a discussion of the various components of collective Hellenic orientation see J.K. Davies, *Democracy and Classical Greece* (Glasgow 1978) 21-48. On ethnicity and the idea of a common descent see C.F. Keyes, "The dialectics of ethnic change" in *Ethnic change* ed. C.F. Keyes (London 1981) 5-7; J.M. Hall, *Ethnic identity in Greek antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997) esp. 44-47. For examples of cases of disputed ethnicity in tragedy see Hall (1989) 172-181.

¹⁷¹ See Chapter 2 p. 26.

¹⁷² See Chapter 2 p. 26, nn. 75-76.

¹⁷³ For the fragments of the play and a good synopsis of the works and commentaries so far written on the play see: Collard 17-52; Hall 174-175.

¹⁷⁴ A date ca. 438 BC has been suggested for the play; Collard 24-25; Hall 175. According to Collard, the play appeared as a result of the Persian empire's pressure on Greek colonies in Asia Minor in the second half of the fifth century BC and the Athenian effort to prove the Greek origin of those cities. On the other hand, Hall notes that the play appeared 12 years after Perikles' law (451/450 BC) according to which those who could prove that both parents were Athenians could claim Athenian citizenship.

which most fully expresses this idea is the Great Altar with its Telephos frieze. On the frieze the artist has incorporated in the imagery a series of allusions that, strictly speaking, have nothing to do with the myth but are used to join together past and future in a single image. The hero in the war against Idas is depicted as a future Pergamene king wearing contemporary armour and a *konos* helmet (Cat. nos. 44-45). In the Kaikos battle he is fighting, as the future Attalid kings, against northern invaders (Cat. no. 51, Scythian warriors).

The hero is depicted as a paradigm of piety and virtue. His victory over the Greeks at the Kaikos battle makes him the first victor and defender of the city of Pergamon. One could probably argue that Telephos' battle against the Greeks obviously poses an ethnicity problem - victory over Greeks suggests that he is a Mysian. This however, is not necessarily true as on the one hand Telephos was defending his country that was mistaken for the barbarian Troy, and on the other his battle against the Greeks does not make him a barbarian as there are other examples of Greeks fighting Greeks with no question of barbarism involved - cf. e.g. the Peloponnesian war.

Pergamon's victorious past reached its culmination in the military triumphs of the Attalid kings and especially in the last wars of Eumenes II (172-166 BC) where the latter defeated his enemies without Rome's help (Chapter 2, Table 1). These victories were celebrated, among other places, in the Attalid monuments (on the Pergamene and Athenian acropoleis) and in the armour reliefs on the balustrade of the propylon and the stoa surrounding Athena's precinct in Pergamon.

In his search for his mother in Mysia (Cat. no. 42) and in the building of temples dedicated to his divine helpers (Cat. nos. 64-65), Telephos is represented as a paradigm of piety. That piety is rewarded with his apotheosis (Cat. no. 69). The emphasis on Telephos' pious nature is used to stress that of the Attalid kings who, like their ancestor, showed piety towards their mother and the gods of Pergamon. Eumenes II and his brother Attalos II dedicated at Kyzikos, sometime between 166 and 159 BC, a temple to their dead mother Apollonis.¹⁷⁵ The columns were decorated with 19 *stylopinakia* depicting myths where sons demonstrated their love and devotion towards a parent.¹⁷⁶ One of the *stylopinakia* (A.P. 3.2) depicted Telephos coming to Mysia in search of his mother Auge. The love of Eumenes II towards his mother Apollonis culminated in the latter's deification after her death.¹⁷⁷

The pious Attalid kings worshipped the Greek gods of their ancestors, whose images or presence is felt all over the Telephos frieze. Athena, whose cult was introduced to the city by Auge (Cat. no. 46), had become the city's patron deity. She was worshipped and honoured with a pan-hellenic festival (Nikephoria Stephanitas) equal to the great festivals of mainland Greece, the Pythian and Olympic. To the god Asklepios whose help was paramount to the healing of Telephos was dedicated a great sanctuary outside the city's

¹⁷⁵For the date of Apollonis' death see Chapter 2 n. 134 p. 33.

¹⁷⁶*Greek Anthology* 3.1-19. The *stylopinakia* do not survive.

¹⁷⁷See Chapter 2 p. 33 nn. 134-135.

walls (Cat. nos. 64-65). The god Dionysos, who protected Auge and Telephos, was now the Attalids' divine ancestor and protector (Cat. nos. 39-41, missing panels before Cat. nos. 36, 68). Like their mythical ancestor, the Attalids expressed their gratitude towards the gods with the building of temples, sanctuaries, and the dedication of glorious monuments.

The Telephos frieze depicted elements of the Telephos myth that are notoriously absent from the earlier literary and iconographic record. Considering the importance of this myth for the Attalids and the fact that many of the elements first present on the frieze appear again in later literary tradition, one may plausibly argue that an epic or at least a poem on the myth existed in Pergamon at the time of the Attalids. If this is true then it is not surprising that the later literary accounts were influenced by this Pergamene epic.

Three centuries earlier, at the beginning of the 5th century BC, Athens turned to its own past in search of self-justification and self-image. After the fall of Hippias, Sparta sent her army to Athens to impose the government of Isagoras upon the Athenians. The attempt failed and democratic reforms were introduced into Athens by the Alkmaionid Kleisthenes. Since the 6th century BC Theseus was slowly developing into an Athenian national hero and a natural rival to the Dorian Herakles.¹⁷⁸

When the Ionian Greeks revolted against the Persian oppression in 499 BC, Athens hastened to grant them aid and present herself as leader of the Greek struggle against the tyranny of Persia. A significant testimony to the rising popularity of Theseus were the sculptures on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. The date of the monument is debated but it is more or less accepted that the imagery was influenced by contemporary events.¹⁷⁹ Its sculptural decoration, consisting of deeds of both Theseus and Herakles, indicates that the Athenians were deliberately comparing the two heroes.¹⁸⁰ The nine metopes on the south side of the monument, which is the side that pilgrims would have first seen on their way to the temple of Apollo, were decorated with the deeds of Theseus. Their corresponding metopes on the north side, which would have been less noticed, were allocated to the labours of Herakles. Likewise, the six metopes on the front of the temple depicted an

¹⁷⁸Theseus unifies the region of Attica: Thuc. 2.15; Plut. *Thes.* 25.1. Walker 44-45; Taylor 78-134; Hall 58ff. Shapiro argues that the development of Theseus as a national hero began under the rule of Solon; H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern 1989) 144-146.

¹⁷⁹According to Pausanias (10.11.5) it was financed from the spoils of the Marathon battle (490 BC). However, on stylistic grounds, F. Brommer rejected this date placing the monument ca. 510 BC, arguing that the inscription Pausanias allegedly saw could easily have been erected at a later date; *Theseus* (Darmstadt 1982) 68, n.8. J. Neils points out that the sculptures are carved in a wide range of styles dating ca. 510-490 BC; *The Youthful deeds of Theseus* (Rima: Giorgio Bretschneider 1987) 46-47. K. Schefold and F. Jung argue that the monument was built at an earlier date but was turned into a Marathon monument in 490 BC; *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag 1988) 274. Boardman argues that the Amazonomachy depicted on the front of the temple commemorated the Athenian expedition to Asia Minor in 499 BC; (1982) 12-13. On a rogue dating to the 470s see E.D. Francis, *Image and Idea in 5th century BC Athens* (London 1990) 101-104. Whatever the date of the monument, it was built after the fall of the tyrants.

¹⁸⁰The cycle with the deeds of Theseus was not new; cf. e.g. red-figure kylix by the 6th century BC (ca. 520 BC) potter Kachrylion (Florence 91456, from Orvieto) Beazley *ARFVP* 108 no.27.

Amazonomachy, though it is not clear which hero fights them, while the metopes at the back of the temple depicted Herakles and the cattle of Geryon.

The most interesting innovation, however, is that the middle metope from the most conspicuous south side depicted Theseus and Athena alone. This is an unusual scene, as Athena was always hitherto associated with Herakles; she is absent from Herakles' side on the treasury metopes. As Boardman noted, Athena is never represented alone with Theseus and hence the purpose of this relief may well have been to raise the status of Theseus to that of Herakles.¹⁸¹ Theseus was now the greatest hero in Athens, supported and protected by the city's patron-deity Athena. The mythographer Pherekydes covered in prose the career of Theseus in his work *Histories*.¹⁸² Plutarch characteristically records a saying of the Athenians claiming that Theseus was a "second Herakles".¹⁸³

The first big test for Athenian democracy came at the battle of Marathon (490 BC) where democratic Athens, with a handful of Plataians, under the leadership of Kallimachos faced and defeated the invading Persians who had come to punish Athens and Eretria for the 499 BC expedition.¹⁸⁴ The victory was so miraculous (the Greek army was hugely outnumbered) that rumours of divine intervention began to circulate. Many of those who fought at Marathon claimed that they had seen Theseus, clad in full armour, leading them into battle.¹⁸⁵ This scene was later represented on the paintings of Mikon in the Stoa Poikile, where the hero is depicted as coming up from the underworld.¹⁸⁶

Since the 6th century BC more or less every figure in Athenian politics toyed with the image of Theseus for their own political aspirations.¹⁸⁷ However, the hero retained the

¹⁸¹Boardman has examined a remarkable series of vases where Athena is practically alone with Herakles as he reclines on a couch or plays the lyre; J. Boardman, "Image and Politics in Sixth century Athens" in *Symposium Amsterdam* ed. H.A.G. Brijder (Amsterdam 1984) 244-245; his views of these vases were contested by R. Osborne "The myth of propaganda and the propaganda of myth" in *Hephaistos* vols. 5/6 (1983-4) 63-70. Boardman, remarks that this metope is "a very deliberate compliment to the hero at Herakles' expense"; (1982) 5.

¹⁸²*FGrH* 3 FF 147-53. Jacoby dated his work between 508/7-476/5 BC; F. Jacoby, "The First Athenian Prose-writer" *Mnemosyne* 13 (1947) 33; G. L. Huxley, "The date of Pherekydes of Athens" *GRBS* 14 (1973) 137-143 argues that Pherekydes is contemporary with Kimon.

¹⁸³Plutarch *Thes.* 29.3.

¹⁸⁴Brunn 246.

¹⁸⁵Plut. *Thes.* 35.

¹⁸⁶Paus. 1.15

¹⁸⁷As Kron has pointed out, all Athenian politicians used Theseus as a model, as he stood for the whole of the Athenian state; U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen* (Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut 1976) 224; E. Kearns, *The heroes of Attica* (London: Institute of Classical Studies 1989) 119; C. Calame, *Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien* (Lausanne, 1990) 416-417; Connor 136-174; Walker (*Theseus and Athens*) with a very good bibliography. For the purposes of this work we will only examine Theseus in the early years of the fifth century BC when the struggle of Athens against Persia was seen as the struggle of democratic Athens against the tyrannical Persia. There is a great debate exactly when Theseus appears as a democrat. The ancient sources are divided on whether Theseus was the founder of democracy or not. Herodotos ignores the theory and attributed this achievement to Kleisthenes (6.131.1); for Hellanikos (*FGrH* 323a F 23) and Philochoros (*FGrH* commentary 328 F 19) Theseus was simply a king. On the other hand, in Euripides' *Supplikes* (l. 351) Theseus is credited with the foundation of democracy; a 4th century BC painting in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios depicted Theseus in the company of Demos and Demokratia (Pausanias 1.3.2). Cf. e.g. Calame (1990); R. Parker, *Athenian Religion*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1997) 170 argues that Theseus appeared as a democratic hero in the 420s. For more on the debate see Loraux 65-67, nn.293-304.

image of the Athenian national hero, the defender of Athens against tyranny, and the barbarian Persians - as on the Hephaisteion's east frieze depicting his battle against the Pallantids. The fifth century BC Athenians saw in the struggle of Theseus against the Amazons their own struggle for the defence of their city, and consequently for the whole Greek (at least Ionian) world, against the barbarians of the east. The shield of the Parthenos depicting the siege of Athens by the Amazons would have brought vivid memories of the recent sack of their city by the Persians. The defeat of the Amazons symbolized their cumulative victories over the Persians. The Athenians had proved to the Greek world that they were worthy descendants of their hero Theseus.

Later in Rome, Augustus made a similar use of the city's past for his own self-glorification presenting himself as worthy descendant of Aeneas and Romulus. In the Forum of Augustus, in the central niches of the two large *exedrae*, Aeneas and Romulus were depicted - descendants of Venus and Mars respectively. Aeneas was shown fleeing from Troy carrying Anchises and the Penates on his shoulders, and Romulus as a victor in war carrying on his shoulders a trophy. Although the statues themselves do not survive, Zanker believes that an idea of their appearance can be gained from statuettes, wall-paintings, and reliefs.¹⁸⁸

As Zanker noted, on a wall-painting from the facade of a house in Pompeii Aeneas is depicted holding his son Ascanius by the hand and carrying on his shoulders his father Anchises who is holding in his hands the Penates (Fig. 97a).¹⁸⁹ As on the Telephos frieze, here too the hero Aeneas wears contemporary armour and, as ancestor of the Julian clan, patrician footwear. By contrast the little Ascanius is represented as a Phrygian shepherd, alluding to the bucolic Trojan background of Anchises (father of Aeneas, beloved of Aphrodite). Zanker also noticed that this change in the imagery of Aeneas took place when Octavian was still young. For a coin minted for the young Octavian in 42 BC depicts the same motif but represents Aeneas nude as in Greek iconography (Fig. 98).¹⁹⁰

On the wall-painting opposite that of Aeneas, Romulus was shown in full contemporary Roman armour carrying a *tropaion* over his left shoulder (Fig. 97b).¹⁹¹ He is depicted as the first victor of Rome in accordance with the *fasti* which the Senate recorded and affixed on marble slabs on the triumphal arch of Augustus next to the temple of Caesar in the Forum Romanum. The triumphal arch was erected to commemorate the triple triumph of Augustus (in Illyricum, in Egypt and at Actium). Augustus presented himself as continuing the glorious tradition of his forefathers, the pious Aeneas and the victorious Romulus.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸Zanker 201-204, fig. 156.

¹⁸⁹Fig. 97a: Pompeii IX 13; Zanker 202 fig. 156a.

¹⁹⁰Fig. 98: In the British Museum inv. RR 4258; Zanker 35 fig. 27b.

¹⁹¹Fig. 97b: Pompeii IX 5; Zanker 203 fig. 156b.

¹⁹²One of the *fasti* recorded the triumph of "King Romulus, the son of Mars" over king Akron in Caenina "in the first year of the state". After the battle, Romulus is said to have dedicated the spoils from the war at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which Augustus later rebuilt before the battle of Actium (31 BC). For more

The idealised reflection of the New Republic is particularly seen on the reliefs of the Ara Pacis - a monument ordered by the Senate to honour itself, Augustus and the state (9 BC). The west side was decorated with two reliefs: on the one Aeneas is depicted offering a sacrifice to the Penates after landing in Latium, and on the other Mars with the twins and the she-wolf. The two long sides (north and south) were decorated with a sacrificial procession led by Augustus himself, surrounded by priests, senators and members of the royal family. On one of the two reliefs (Tellus relief) on the east side a matronly deity in classicising drapery is depicted seated, holding in her arms two babies who reach for her breast; her lap is filled with fruits and her hair with a wreath of grain and poppies. On the other relief opposite this one, Roma is depicted enthroned on a mound of armour.

The procession is reminiscent of the Panathenaic procession on the south/east end of the Parthenon frieze. The comparison becomes even more interesting when one considers that on the Ara Pacis the companions of Augustus form a kind of circle around him in very much the same way as the gods on the east Parthenon frieze are thought to have formed a semi-circle around the scene with the handing over of the peplos.¹⁹³ On both friezes the emphasis is laid on the religious act taking place, sacrifice on the Ara Pacis and handing over of the *peplos* on the Parthenon.

It has been argued that looking at the altar the Roman viewers saw a process which incorporated the mythical sacrifice of Aeneas into the contemporary sacrifice of Augustus and the Senate. The sacrifice that the Roman people were making every year was being related to the mythical sacrifice by a legendary figure. The past was thus being incorporated into the present, and the present in turn acquiring its identity and affirmation from the past. Aeneas was being reincarnated in the figure of Augustus who, together with the Senators, were showing their religious piety and reverence by offering their annual sacrifice to the Pax Augusta.¹⁹⁴

3. Providence, destiny, and the imagery of the altar

As Stewart has already noted, one of the most characteristic features of the imagery of the Great Altar is the strong belief in destiny and the workings of providence.¹⁹⁵ To justify their involvement in wars, the Attalids argued they had been chosen by the gods to bring doom on the Gauls.¹⁹⁶ They believed that it was their destiny and moral duty (*kathekon*), as worthy descendants of Herakles and Dionysos, to save the Greek cities from

examples of imagery depicting Augustus sacrificing to the gods and being associated with the two mythical heroes see Zanker 203-208.

¹⁹³Zanker 121; J. Neils, "Athena, alter ego of Zeus" in *Athena in the Classical world* (Leiden: E.J. Brill forthcoming).

¹⁹⁴Zanker 120-123, 158-160, 203-204, 252-253; J. Elsner, "Cult and Sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae" *JRS* 81 (1991) 50-61 et bib; K. Galinsky, "Venus Polysemy, and the Ara Pacis Augustae" *AJA* 96 (1992) 457-475 et bib.

¹⁹⁵Stewart, "Telephos/Telepinu" 117-119.

¹⁹⁶Pausanias 10.15.2-3; Suda s.v. *Attalos*.

slavery to barbarism, to bring justice (*dikaiosyne*) to the wronged. It is noteworthy that, for the ancient Greeks, one of the cardinal Hellenic values that distinguished a Greek from a barbarian was *dikaiosyne*, the other three being *sophia* (wisdom), *andreia* (courage), and *sophrosyne* (discipline or restraint).¹⁹⁷ For the Attalids' ancestors, Herakles and Dionysos, it was their destiny to play a paramount role in the destruction of the giants, who had committed injustice by defying the laws of Heaven. In return for their *andreia*, Herakles and Dionysos received the highest of honours, the title Olympian. Likewise, it was the Attalids' destiny to take upon themselves responsibility for the freedom of the Asiatic Greeks and apply *dikaiosyne* to those who had been wronged by the evil actions of barbarians.¹⁹⁸

The Attalids strongly believed that the gods were on their side and the Altar's imagery is a testimony to this belief. On the Gigantomachy frieze, the references to local cults (e.g. Kabeiroi, Kybele) are quite prominent, while Dionysos was devoted an entire side at the entrance to the monument. Perhaps the most obvious example of a reference to a local god is the figure of Persephone on the north frieze hurling against a giant a jar with a coiled snake around it. According to some scholars this motif alluded to the naval battle against the joint forces of Prusias, Philip V and Hannibal, where the latter threw on the Pergamene ships jars filled with poisonous snakes (183 BC).¹⁹⁹ On the Pergamene frieze the roles are reversed and all the evil the Attalids' enemies had done to them the giants now receive back from the gods of Pergamon. This idea becomes more apparent if one thinks of the many allusions and references to contemporary battles. As the giants have assumed the role of the Gauls, Macedonians, and other Attalid enemies, the gods appear to be fighting for their destruction aided by the Attalids' ancestors, Herakles and Dionysos.

On the Telephos frieze, belief in the workings of providence becomes more apparent. Everything happens for a reason and the course of events is nothing but the gods' will. It all began when an oracle of Apollo, delivered to Aleos, resulted in Auge's priesthood and the fated meeting with Herakles that led to Telephos' birth. From the abandonment of baby Telephos and his rescue by the lioness to the healing of the hero in Argos, events in the life of the hero and the people surrounding him were guided by divine providence.

This predetermined course of events is necessary for the hero to complete his destiny as well as that of Achilles and the Greeks at Troy. To show his reverence and piety

¹⁹⁷Plato *Resp.* 4.427e 10-11; Stob. *Ecl.* II, p.59, 4 W (*SVF* III 262); Stobaios quoting Chrysippos. However, all of Platos' virtues are already there in the plays of the fifth century Athenian tragedians; cf. e.g. Aischylos' *Seven against Thebes* l. 610 (dated ca. 467 BC); O. Kunsemüller, *Die Herkunft der platonischen Kardinaltugenden* (diss. Erlangen; reprinted New York 1935) 35-43; H. North, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 35 (New York, 1966) 32-84; Hall 121-133, 187-190. On *sophrosyne* see above n. 129.

¹⁹⁸Timaios, 566 F 89: Herakles is joined in the battle by the gods. Diod. Sic. 4.21.5-7: Dionysos and Herakles received the highest of honours (called Olympians); 3.70.6: the giants were destroyed by Zeus, Athena and Dionysos. Horace *Odes* 2.12.6-9 : Gigantomachy was the triumph of Herakles over the giants. Cf. also black and red-figure Panathenaic vases from the acropolis depicting Dionysos and Herakles fighting in the Gigantomachy (dated to ca. second quarter of the 6th century BC); Chapter 3 p. 75 n. 133 (Fig. 38).

¹⁹⁹Cornelius Nepos *Hannibal* 10-11; see Chapter 3, p. 54 n.17.

to the gods who helped him (Dionysos, Asklepios, Athena), he returns to Pergamon to build glorious temples (panels 44-46) and sanctuaries. He fulfils his *kathekon* to the gods, leading a life according to the gods' wishes and ending it by becoming a model of reverence and piety; in return he is heroized (like his father).²⁰⁰

Like their ancestor Telephos, the Attalids were guided by the gods. It was a god's oracle that prophesied the Attalids' involvement in the wars against the Gauls.²⁰¹ It was their destiny which they went about to fulfil, never failing to thank the gods for aiding and protecting them. Such a thank offering was the Great Altar, the imagery of which is meant to be a testimony to the glory of Pergamon and its gods.

Except for the two friezes, which can be more or less reconstructed with a degree of accuracy, there are considerable doubts about the reconstruction of the rest of the altar's sculptural decoration.²⁰² Of the various suggestions proposed so far only the statues of under-life-size gods, griffins, Tritons, lions, and quadrigas (reconstructed on the ledge of the altar's roof) can be seriously considered.²⁰³

The quadrigas, as Heres noted, represented Attalid victories at war and were probably placed on the ledge of the roof over the east side opposite the entrance to the monument (Foldout 4).²⁰⁴ The quadrigas would probably have been surrounded by the statues of gods (i.e. Athena, Poseidon, Apollo, Dionysos) whose role and protection was instrumental in those victories.²⁰⁵ The lions and griffins should probably be considered as symbols of the royal Attalid house. Griffins have been found on the mosaics and wall decorations of the royal palaces, while the lions may be an allusion to the lion that (according to the inner frieze) nurtured Telephos.²⁰⁶

Finally, the Tritons would have been placed as acroteria. According to Hoepfner, they formed part of the divine entourage.²⁰⁷ It is possible, however, that as sea-monsters they alluded to Attalid power at sea. Such an interpretation would be in accordance with the Attalid naval victories against the Macedonians, Nabis of Sparta, Prusias of Bithynia, and Pharnakes of Pontus.²⁰⁸ The figure of Triton was particularly used in the art of

²⁰⁰ On a definition of *kathekon* see above n. 42.

²⁰¹ See above n. 196.

²⁰² See Chapter 1 pp. 7-8.

²⁰³ On the objections concerning the reconstruction of centaurs on the ledge of the altar's roof see Chapter 1, p. 8 n.36. On those concerning the reconstruction of a number of over-life-size female statues behind the columns of the altar's external colonnade, see Chapter 1 p. 7 n.34. According to Hoepfner and Zanker they might have represented the cities of the Pergamene kingdom; Hoepfner (1989) 627 n 37; (1996) 60-62 fig. 5. A similar theory was suggested by Moreno in 1994, who argued that they represented the cities incorporated in the Pergamene kingdom after the Treaty of Apamea; P. Moreno, *Scultura Ellenistica* vol. I (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, 1994) 481, fig. 607.

²⁰⁴ See Chapter 1 p. 8, nn. 38-39; Foldout 4: Hoepfner (1996) 67, Foldout 3.

²⁰⁵ See Chapter 1, p. 8 n. 36 for the statues of gods found in the vicinity.

²⁰⁶ For griffins see Chapter 2 p. 43; Hoepfner (1996) 67.

²⁰⁷ Hoepfner (1996) 67.

²⁰⁸ Macedonians: 202 BC Philip V's armada destroyed at the naval battle of Chios by Attalos I; Pol. 16.3-7; IvP 52; *OGIS* 283. Nabis' (king of Sparta) expansionistic attempts on the coast of the Peloponnese were deterred by Eumenes II's fleet (194 BC); Livy, 35.12.6-9; 35.12.2-3; Paus. 8.50.6, 10. Eumenes II defeats

Augustus to symbolise the emperor's naval victory over Mark Antony at Actium in 31 BC. A cameo in Vienna depicts Augustus in a chariot drawn by four Tritons each one of which is holding a rudder.²⁰⁹ A marble ship's ram in Leipzig depicts on one side a Triton and on the other Augustus' admiral Agrippa, crowned by a Victory.²¹⁰ The pediment of the temple of Saturn in the Forum Romanum depicted Tritons blowing trumpets.²¹¹

The sculptures on the Great Altar's roof seem to have been a combination of victory symbols - figures of gods whose role was instrumental in those victories, accompanied by symbols of the royal house. Perhaps one of the most famous cases where imagery on public monuments was used to allude to a particular victorious event, are the monuments built by Augustus commemorating his naval victory at Actium (31 BC) - the temple of Caesar, the Speaker's platform, and the New Curia Iulia all in the Forum Romanum.²¹²

The temple of Caesar as Divus Iulius had been planned since 42 BC but it was dedicated by Augustus in 29 BC. Its cella was filled with captured Egyptian spoils which stood next to a painting of Venus Anadyomene by Apelles. Thus the imagery drew a connection between the emperor's victory and his adoptive ancestry (the Julii). In front of the temple, Augustus erected the Speaker's Platform, which stood opposite the old one built by Caesar. Augustus' platform was topped by Egyptian prows captured at Actium. According to Zanker, the location of the platform was deliberately chosen, making a conscious comparison between victory in civil war (Battle of Actium) and a historic naval battle of the Old Republic (Caesar's victory over Antiates in 338 BC).²¹³ The temple of the new Curia Iulia (29 BC) was also fitted with Egyptian trophies. On the evidence of coins, there stood on the apex of the temple's roof a Victory, carrying a wreath in her right hand and racing over a globe. On either side of her statues of divine helpers on the battlefield stood as acroteria, one holding an anchor and the other a rudder (Fig. 99).²¹⁴

In both the Attalid Altar and Augustan art the donor chose imagery that would allude to his victories, ancestry, and the divine aid he had received. The imagery would have served as a testimony to the donor's triumphant past and to his association with the gods, while at the same time it would show his piety and gratitude to the gods by acknowledging their aid.

4. Inscription "agatha"

The fragmentary dedicatory inscription, even though it does not indicate to which god or gods it was dedicated or the event of its dedication, refers to the *agatha* for which

the combined forces of Philip V, Hannibal and Prusias of Bithynia (183 BC); Cornelius Nepos *Hannibal* 10-11. Pharnakes of Pontus was defeated by Eumenes' navy (179 BC) which was joined by Prusias II of Bithynia and Kappadokian troops; Pol. 25.2.1-13; these last two victories were won without Rome's help even though Eumenes sent for their help.

²⁰⁹Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna inv. IX A 56; Zanker 96 fig. 81.

²¹⁰Archäologisches Institut in Leipzig; Zanker 82 fig. 63.

²¹¹Zanker 81.

²¹²ibid. 82-84.

²¹³ibid. 80-81.

²¹⁴Fig. 99: Denarii of Octavian (now lost); Zanker 81 fig. 62a.

the gods are being thanked.²¹⁵ Located on the architrave on the east side of the altar it would have been immediately viewed by the visitor on entering the Altar's precinct. It carried the name of the donor, the name of the god or gods to whom the monument was dedicated but most importantly the occasion for its creation, "a thank offering for benefits bestowed".

Looking at the inscription away from its context it becomes a mere text of identification. However, considering the complexity of the monument with its many allusions to the past and present glory of Pergamon, it becomes obvious that the inscription itself should probably be viewed in the totality of the visual work. It needs to be seen in its public and monumental context surrounded by all the magnificent achievements of Attalid Pergamon.

The dedicatory inscription referred to the benefits of the gods towards the Attalids and the city of Pergamon. It is quite possible that the immediate reaction would be to wonder which benefits the donor referred to. The answer would probably have been provided by the location of the site (**Map 1**). On his right the viewer could see the imposing temple of Athena Polias with its precinct full of dedications from victories in war, and the library which housed treasures of Greek literary genius. On his left and on the terraces below him he could see the market, the gymnasium, and the sanctuaries of the gods of Pergamon. In effect he was surrounded by all these achievements which the gods so generously gave to Pergamon. With this in mind, the viewer was psychologically prepared for the visual experience that awaited him.

5. Date

It remains to discuss the date of the monument's dedication. As noted in Chapter 1, the absence of concrete archaeological evidence makes it difficult to assign a date to the monument.²¹⁶ The earlier date (180s BC) proposed by Kähler is based on the theory that this decade was a peaceful one for Pergamon, following the Treaty of Apamea (188 BC). However, the ancient sources demonstrate that the 180s were far from peaceful; wars were taking place in Asia Minor (see **Table 1**). The marble used on the Altar was brought from outside the region of Pergamon, and isotopic analysis of the marble has shown similarities with the marble of the central Cyclades (Naxos) and the Marmara quarries on the Hellespont. The wars following the Treaty of Apamea involved the Hellespontine cities and so it is quite possible that work on the monument did not begin before the end of the Galatian wars (166 BC). This suggestion has already been advocated by Callaghan and supported by scholars who base their arguments on the evidence from ceramic finds. A late date in the 160s was also proposed by Brueckner on the basis of contemporary events.

²¹⁵IvP no. 21; see also Chapter 1 *Donor* pp. 9-10.

²¹⁶See Chapter 1 pp. 10-12, by the time of this thesis the results of the latest studies by Radt and de Luca had not as yet been published; Radt (1998) 21.

The latest suggestion, proposed by Radt and de Luca, favours a date in the 170s. Their theory rests again on the evidence of ceramic finds from the foundations said to date from the 170s.²¹⁷ However, the Altar was built over an earlier structure and it could be that the material found in its foundations had been used for religious purposes within the context of the previous building.

A *terminus post quem* for the altar's inception should be fixed by the latest dated finds, which (according to Callaghan) are in the 160s. However, his dating of the pottery fragments to the 160s must await the results of the forthcoming publication of the pottery from the 1994-1996 excavations. Never the less, it is important to note that a late date for the monument's inception would also accord with the historical facts. By the year 166 BC, Eumenes II had restored peace in his kingdom by repelling the Gallic tribes, and proved to the world that he could defend his kingdom and the Greek cities of Asia Minor without Rome's help. Eumenes' victory in 166 BC was thus comparable to the Athenian victory at Marathon (490 BC). Like the Athenians, Eumenes had defended the freedom of the Greeks against barbarian pretensions, aided by very few allies. His victory, like that of the Athenians, was achieved with the help of the city's gods and divine protectors. The Great Altar had become the Pergamene Parthenon, dedicated to the gods whose generosity and providence was responsible for the glory and achievements of the city.

Finally, one could argue, that the marble factor should also be taken into consideration. If the altar began in the 180s and work was terminated in ca. 159-156 BC, then it means that the monument was being built for 30 to 20 years. This is a long time considering the amount of sculptors who are recorded to have worked on the friezes, the number of workmen that such a monument would require, but also the fact that other Eumenean commissions (e.g. library, temples, gymnasium etc.) were actually completed during the king's reign. If, on the other hand, work at the monument began after the last war against the Gauls (166 BC) and was terminated ca. 159-156 BC, then a period of 7 to 10 years would probably be more likely for an unfinished work.

²¹⁷Kästner (1998) 140.

APPENDIX 1

"A late date (ca. 166 BC) for the introduction of the kistophoros coinage" (p. 23, Figs. 11-12)

A late date (ca. 166 BC) for the introduction of the *kistophoros* coin is also supported by the numismatic evidence from hoards dating between 190s-150 BC.¹ The Rhodes hoard, dated ca.190 BC, contained 21 silver tetradrachms, including issues of Lysimachos, Antiochos II and III, Eumenes I, Attalos I and Eumenes II.² The Trabzon hoard (ancient Trapezus), dated early in the 2nd century BC, contained 3 silver tetradrachms of which one was an issue of Eumenes II and two were Athenian new style tetradrachms.³ According to Thompson's chronology, the two Athenian coins are dated by stylistic analysis to 187/6 BC and 186/5 BC.⁴ The Mektepini hoard, dated ca.190 BC, contained more than 752 silver tetradrachms representing a wide range of Hellenistic coins from life-time issues of Alexander the Great to silver tetradrachms of Eumenes II and Antiochos III (223-187 BC).⁵ The Konya hoard (187 BC) contained over 890 silver tetradrachms including issues of Eumenes I and II, Alexander tetradrachms and Seleukid issues up to the reign of Antiochos VIII.⁶ The Asia Minor (1949) hoard and the Aleppo (ancient Beroia) hoard date to 190 BC.⁷ Both hoards contain tetradrachms from the reign of Alexander the Great, Eumenes I and II and the Seleukid kings; the latest Seleukid coin is an issue of Antiochos III.

The Sitichoro hoard which dates from 168 and 162 BC, contains between 2,500 and 3,000 silver tetradrachms.⁸ The coins range from life-time issues of Alexander the Great to coins issued by the First Macedonian Republic as late as 168 BC. The Urfa-Edessa hoard (between 185 and 160 BC), despite the small body of coins (200 silver tetradrachms), also presents a wide range of Hellenistic coins dating as far back as the life-time issues of Alexander the Great.⁹ Many of the late posthumous Alexander tetradrachms from the Urfa hoard show the anchor and head of Helios counter-marks which were probably introduced ca. 175-170 BC.¹⁰ Furthermore, the hoard contained late posthumous Alexanders from Temnos (two coins) and one silver tetradrachm from Kyme dated ca. 170-160 BC.¹¹

¹IGCH nos. 1317, 1371, 1410, 1414, 1450, 1539, 237, 1772, 1774.

²IGCH no. 1317.

³IGCH no. 1371.

⁴IGCH 182 no. 1371.

⁵IGCH no. 1410.

⁶IGCH no. 1414. The tetradrachms of Antiochos VIII (125-96 BC) are presumed intrusive.

⁷IGCH nos. 1450, 1539 respectively.

⁸IGCH no. 237; M.J. Price "The Larissa 1968 hoard (IGCH 237)", in *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays, Numismatic Studies in memory of C.K. Kraay and O. Mørkholm*, eds. G. Le Rider, K. Jenkins, N. Waggoner and U. Westermark, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989) 243.

⁹IGCH no. 1772.

¹⁰O. Mørkholm, "The chronology of the New Style coinage of Athens" *ANSMN* 29 (1984) 38 n.25.

¹¹M.J. Price, "Greek coin hoards in the British Museum" *NC* (1969) 10-14.

The Babylon hoard, dating from between 155 and 150 BC, contains 100 silver tetradrachms of which eight belonged to the reign of Eumenes II.¹² The latest datable coins from this hoard are eleven silver tetradrachms of Demetrios I from Antiocheia. They do not bear the title Soter and are without dates; so they were issued before 155 BC.¹³ If we accept an introduction date for the kistophoros used as a commercial currency in Northern Asia Minor as early as 188 BC or 179-172 BC, then the absence of kistophoroi from these hoards is more than surprising, especially as they all contain tetradrachms from the reign of Eumenes II.

No hoards containing kistophoroi have burial dates earlier than 150-145 BC. The earliest from Asia Minor are between those dates; the latest (before 134/3 BC) are two hoards, one from Yesilhisar and one from Asia Minor.¹⁴ A closer examination of these hoards shows that until the formation of the Roman Province of Asia there were seven kistophoric mints in Asia Minor: Ephesos, Pergamon, Sardis, Tralles, Apamea, Laodikaia, Synnada. The minor mints of Parion, Adramyttion and Smyrna did not issue kistophoroi until after the formation of the Roman Province (134/3 BC). The mints of Hierapolis, Phokaia and Nysa issued kistophoroi only later in the Roman period.¹⁵

¹²IGCH no. 1774.

¹³K. Regling, "Hellenistischer Münzschatz aus Babylon" *ZfN* (Berlin, 1928) 92-132.

¹⁴IGCH nos. 1452, 1453; 1327 (Yesilhisar), 1455 (Asia Minor) respectively; Kleiner and Noe 107-8, 113-9. The term "Asia Minor" used here for hoards is the official term used in the Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards.

¹⁵S.P. Noe, "Beginnings of the kistophoric coinage" *ANSMN* 4 (1950) 40; K. Regling, "Ein kistophorenschatz aus der Provinz Brussa" *Frankfurter Münzzeitung* (1932) 506-510.

APPENDIX 2

"Portrait of king Eumenes. Which Eumenes?"

(p. 25-26, Fig. 14)

According to Livy (42.15.3-16.5) Eumenes II, upon his return from Rome where he had gone to ask for help against Perseus of Macedon (172 BC), visited the oracle at Delphi. On the way, he was ambushed by assassins and only escaped secretly to the island of Aigina suffering from a severe head wound. There he remained in secret and his brother Attalos, thinking him dead, proclaimed himself king Attalos II and married his brother's wife Stratonike. When Eumenes recovered, he returned to Pergamon and re-assumed the throne, his brother having abdicated for fear of Eumenes' reaction to his hasty actions.

Eumenes could hardly have been absent long enough to justify the survival of two (as we shall see) so stylistically different issues. Nor could the time which elapsed between the accident, the alleged death of Eumenes II, and his return to Pergamon be sufficient for Attalos to issue enough coins to guarantee the survival even of two issues bearing the initials of two different magistrates (AP and ΔΙΑ). But even if Attalos did issue this type in honour of his brother, there still remains the question why did he choose to issue a completely new type of coin rather than carry on the tradition of the Philetairos-type?

The answers may well be provided by closer study of the two surviving coins. Both have on the reverse a laurel wreath encircling two figures. Such wreathed coins were not introduced among the cities of Asia Minor before the early 160s.¹ A study of the hoards containing coins predating the early 160s shows a distinct absence of wreathed coins: Sitichoro (*IGCH* no. 237) ca. 168-7 BC; A. Minor (*IGCH* no. 1453) ca. 150-145 BC; A. Minor (*IGCH* no. 1452) ca. 150 BC; Urfa (*IGCH* no. 1772) ca. 160 BC. If wreathed coins were not introduced before the early 160s, then the coins in question cannot have been issued in 172 BC.

Another important detail is evident on the coin of Eumenes in Paris (Fig. 14.1). The portrait of Eumenes on the obverse has the shoulders and neck draped. This feature is unparalleled on Pergamene coins, or even coins from the Pergamene territory, before the Roman period.²

¹The date of the introduction of the unwreathed coins is debated, some scholars dating it to the early 160s and some to the early 170s. Early 160s (after the end of the Third Macedonian War ca. 167 BC): E. Boehringer "Zur Chronologie mittelhellenistischer Münzserien 220-160 v. Chr." *AMUGS* V (Berlin 1972) 14-19; A. Giovannini, *Rome et la circulation monétaire en Crète au IIe siècle avant J-C*, *Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 15 (Bäsel 1978) 4-7, 16. Early 170s: L. Robert, "Monnaies hellénistiques II. L'argent d'Athènes Stéphanéphore" *RN* (1977) 42-43; O. Mørkholm, "Chronology and meaning of the wreathed coinages of the early second century BC", *QT* 9 (Lugano, 1980) 152-158, esp. 158. In mainland Greece (cf. e.g. Bakèrr hoard, *IGCH* 559) Mørkholm (152) places their introduction ca. 175 BC. He also argues (155) that Eumenes' type was issued between 180 and 175 BC, considering it one of the last emissions of royal silver tetradrachms; he believes that the kistophoros unit was introduced between 179-172 BC (see Chapter 2 p. 23, n 55). On the debate of the wreathed coins see also: N. Waggoner "Coins from the W.P. Wallace Collection" *ANSMN* 25 (1980) 11-15; N. Jones, "The autonomous wreathed tetradrachms of Magnesia on-the-Maeander" *ANSMN* 21 (1979) 63-109.

²Wroth pls. 27.16-33.5.

The coins represent on the reverse two standing youths, each holding a spear. The Paris coin (Fig. 14.1) represents two stars above their heads. It can be argued that the figures represented are the Kabeiroi rather than the Dioskouroi.³ Both Kabeiroi and the Dioskouroi are found with stars above their heads. But the Dioskouroi are usually mounted on horses, on chariots or shown holding their horses by the reins, while the Kabeiroi are always represented standing.

The Dioskouroi on horse-back appear on coins of Antiochos VI (ca. 144/3 BC), of Eukratides of Bactria (160 BC), and earlier on coins from Tarentum (315 BC), and from Bruttium in South Italy.⁴ In red-figure classical vase-painting the Dioskouroi had usually been represented in a similar fashion.⁵ The iconography of the Kabeiroi is less prolifically attested but there is a coin from the Cycladic island of Syros which is significant. (ca. 160 BC, Fig. 100).⁶ The inscription on the reverse reads ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΩΝ ΣΥΡΩΝ and it represents two youths standing in the same fashion as those on the Pergamene coins. They are encircled by a wreath just as on the Pergamene coins.

The cult of the Kabeiroi in Pergamon existed even before the Attalid dynasty.⁷ That the figures on the Pergamene coins are the Kabeiroi and not the Dioskouroi is further indicated by the symbols represented on the reverse. On the British Museum coin in the right field is a thyrsos, on the Paris coin a stylis in the left field. The thyrsos, was a symbol of Dionysos, the wine drinking god. In Thebes at least the Kabeiroi were associated with the god Dionysos and worshipped there at a sanctuary, the "Kabeirion", dating from the sixth century BC. Wine drinking bowls were found in abundance in their sanctuary, and also a votive offering to one of the Kabeiroi, represented as a bearded Dionysos reclining to drink.⁸ The stylis represents a naval standard in the form of a pole with a cross bar. In Samothrake the Kabeiroi were worshipped because they offered protection from drowning at sea and completion of successful voyages. Votive offerings were set up in their sanctuary in Samothrake, in honour of the Great Gods (Kabeiroi) for salvation from the perils of the sea, as recorded by Diogenes Laertios (*Lives* 6.59) and Cicero (*ND* 3.89). According to Apollonios Rhodios (1.915-21), and Valerius Flaccus (*Arg.* 2.432-42), the

³Bauslaugh 50-51.

⁴Antiochos VI: BMC Antiochos VI, 4 (Ian Carradice, *Greek Coins* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1995) fig. 54.b. Eukratides: BMC Eukratides I, 9 (Carradice fig. 56.c). Tarentum: G.K. Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins* 2nd rev.ed. (London 1990) 118 fig. 326, dated ca. 315 BC; Bruttium: A. Forni (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum: Italy*, vol. 1 (Bologna 1963) 320 nr. 8.

⁵Cf. e.g.: Stamnos by Polygnotos (mid 5th century BC, riding Dioskouroi, Oxford 1916.68); Calyx crater, unassigned (mid 5th century BC, Dioskouroi carry off the daughters of Leukippos, Ferrara 44893 from Spina); Hydria by the Kadmos Painter (late 5th century BC, Theoxenia for the Dioskouroi, Plovdiv Museum from Duvanli); Boardman *ARFVC* 130, 167, 312 respectively.

⁶Fig. 100: Bauslaugh pl. 16.7

⁷Pausanias (1.4.6) states that "the land of Pergamon was sacred to the Kabeiroi since old times". His statement is also confirmed by Aelius Aristides' "Panegyric on the water of Pergamon" and an inscription from Pergamon (IvP 324 ll. 17-19) which relates the Kabeiroi to the land of Pergamon through an oracle of Klarian Apollo, according to which they witnessed the birth of Zeus from the Pergamene acropolis. An altar (IvP no.68) was found on the acropolis dedicated to the Kabeiroi and another dedication (IvP 332) to the gods dated in the Roman period, suggests that their cult continued through the Roman times. There is, however, no surviving information suggestive of their cult and rituals in Pergamon.

⁸W. Burkert, *Greek religion*, (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1985) 281-282; M.P. Nilson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion I*, 3rd ed. (Munich, 1967) pl.48.1 (votive offering).

first sea-farers, the Argonauts, underwent initiation at Samothrake to be protected from the sea. On the basis of these symbols and the parallel with the Syran coin, identification of the Kabeiroi on the two Pergamene coins seems virtually certain.

Another unique point about these coins is the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the reverse. This inscription was first introduced on tetradrachms by Alexander the Great in 329 BC. The tradition was carried on by the diadochoi and their descendants. Yet, the Attalids were the only Hellenistic rulers who did not issue coins bearing the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. From 274 BC, when Pergamon openly proclaimed its independence from the Seleukids, Philetairos ceased to issue coins in the name of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (280-274 BC) and introduced a new type in the name ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ. From then on, the coins issued by the Attalids were in the name of ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ. They never issued coins in their own name nor did they ever include on their coins the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

Even stylistically, the two portrait coins do not resemble the style of the latest Philetairos-type coins issued by Eumenes II. This difference is particularly evident on the better preserved coin in Paris (Fig. 14.1). Not only is the draping of the shoulders absent from previous Attalid coins; the style of the swirling ends of the taenia round Eumenes' head also differs from the flat style of the taenia on the head of the latest Philetairos type coins issued by Eumenes II.

The generally accepted date for the introduction of wreathed coins in Asia Minor is the early 160s; that fact and the resemblance of the Pergamene coins to the Syran (ca. 160 BC) suggest a date for their issue after 170 BC. The characteristic differences in style between our two coins and the latest Philetairos-type coins and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ, make the two self-portrait specimens not only unique but suggest a date closer to Roman times. The different initials (ΑΡ and ΔΙΑ) on the reverse of the coins may well be the initials of different magistrates; for none of the Pergamene mints correspond to the letters ΑΡ or ΔΙΑ. The legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ on the reverse of these coins appears again in its shortened form ΒΑ ΕΥ on the fourteen kistophoroi which were proved by Robinson to have been issued by the pretender Aristonikos.⁹

Aristonikos scored a lot of naval victories which yielded to him Samos, Kolophon, Myndos and other sea-ports on the Aegean.¹⁰ It was not until the second year of his usurpation (132/1 BC), that he was forced to move inland and issued kistophoroi from the mint of Thyateira. In view of this evidence one feels compelled to conclude that the "self-portrait" coins were not issued during the reign of Eumenes II but by Aristonikos in 133 BC, as a special victory issue celebrating his naval victories. The obverse probably depicted his father Eumenes II, thus adding to his claim of legitimacy to the throne. The reverse depicted the Kabeiroi (associates of Dionysos, the Attalid divine ancestor, and protectors of sailors) alongside his regal title ΒΑ ΕΥ, as on the kistophoroi. The whole was set in a laurel wreath, the crown of victory.

⁹Robinson, *Cistophori in the name of king Eumenes*, 6.

¹⁰Florus 1.35.4.

One of the most interesting questions is why would Aristonikos reissue royal silver tetradrachms when they had been replaced by the kistophoros unit since the reign of Eumenes II (ca. 166 BC).

When Attalos III was still king of Pergamon, the only remaining Attalid was his half-brother Aristonikos. After Attalos III's death, Aristonikos might reasonably have expected to ascend the throne. That ambition was thwarted when Attalos in his will bequeathed the kingdom to Rome.¹¹ Aristonikos presumably felt bitter and betrayed; his chance for a place in the Pergamene history was gone.

His revolt against his brother's will might have been expected. In the shadow of the revolts of Andriskos (149 BC) and Eunous (135 BC) and in imitation of their assumption of previous kings' names, he assumed the name of his father Eumenes. Although royal silver tetradrachms had not been minted for some time, Aristonikos issued silver tetradrachms in his own name ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ and kistophoroi bearing his initials ΒΑ ΕΥ. It seems probable that he did so to assert his claim to be an Attalid. As the illegitimate son of Eumenes II, he was never so recognised but, by striking both tetradrachms and kistophoroi with the regal title he had assumed, he reinforced his claim.

¹¹Justin 36.4; Livy *Summ.* 8; Florus 2.20.

APPENDIX 3

"The Medusa-Athena Nikephoros coin from Pergamon" (p. 28)¹

The coin

Only three specimens of this type survive: one from a Syrian hoard at Ma'aret-en-Numan (Fig. 15), dating between 162-160 BC, and two from the Sitichoro hoard in Thessaly (168-162 BC).²

On the obverse, the head of Medusa is depicted full-face, with two small wings above the forehead. The whole is surrounded by a dotted border, which probably represents the edge of a round shield.³ Medusa is depicted in an idealised manner, lacking the fearsome details of archaic and classical Gorgoneia.⁴

On the reverse, Athena Nikephoros is represented frontally. In her right hand she holds a Nike and in her left a branch with seven leafy twigs. She wears a tall polos with a veil falling behind her back. Her hair is plaited in two braids on either side of the head. Around her neck, she wears a close fitting band above a necklace with pendants. An aegis follows and below that an apron tied below the breast and decorated with seven balls or globes arranged in the form of a crescent which curves upwards; the ball in the centre is larger than the other six. She stands with upper arms close to her body and forearms held out sideways almost at right angles to the body. Her shield leans against her left leg. Fillets ending in tassels are wrapped around and hang down from both wrists. The two coins from the Sitichoro hoard have a thunderbolt in the left field. All specimens bear on the reverse the inscription ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ.

The theories

The absence of any royal symbols and the genitive ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ indicate that the coin or the object represented on it (i.e. the image of the goddess on the reverse) is the sacred property of the deity. The Sitichoro hoard provides a *terminus ante quem* of the

¹ See also A.S. Faita, "The Medusa-Athena Nikephoros coin from Pergamon", in *Athena in the Classical World* (Leiden: E.J. Brill forthcoming).

The Royal Numismatic Society, *Coin Hoards*, vol.6 (London: 1981), no.37 (Ma'aret-en-Numan); G. Le Rider, "Un tétradrachme d' Athéna Niképhoros", in *RN* (1973) 66-79 (Sitichoro hoard). The coin from the Syrian hoard is in the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Copenhagen (Fig. 15). The two coins from the Sitichoro hoard are in the Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque in Paris and in the British Museum respectively.

Le Rider, 67; H.D. Schultz, "The coinage of Pergamon until the end of the Attalid dynasty (133 BC)", in *Pergamon* vol. 2, 17.

Cf. e.g. Medusa on the west pediment of the temple of Artemis at Kerkyra, of the early 6th century BC, displaying pointed teeth, a protruding tongue, and general monster-like features.

years between 168-162 BC for the coins,⁵ while a *terminus post quem* is considered to be the date of the reorganisation of the Nikephoria festival by Eumenes II (181 BC).⁶

Four main theories have been proposed for the occasion and date of issue. In 1973, Le Rider argued that it appeared in 181 BC as a commemorative issue for the reorganisation of the Nikephoria festival. Comparing these coins to the ones minted by the Ilian Confederacy, bearing on the reverse the statue of Athena Ilias and the city's mint-mark, Le Rider argued that a similar group of cities were united "around the cult of Athena Nikephoros".⁷ She also suggested that the seven spherical objects on the goddess' apron were breasts similar to the ones on Ephesian Artemis.⁸

Mørholm accepted Le Rider's date but rejected her Pergamene Confederacy argument in the absence of any evidence testifying to the existence of such an association. Instead, he proposed that the coins were issued during the Nikephoria festival as a means of exchange and as a kind of propaganda for Pergamon's tutelary deity.⁹

He also noted a close resemblance between the Athena on the reverse of these coins and a statuette of Kybele in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Ephesos Museum) in the Hofburg of Vienna (Fig. 29).¹⁰ The statuette was found at the sanctuary of Kybele at Mamurt-Kaleh (30 km from Pergamon) and dates from the 2nd century BC. The resemblance is particularly evident in the circular decorations on the apron; there are 10 on the statuette of Kybele, 7 on the Athena of the coins. Consequently, he claimed that "these globes are clearly reminiscent of the so-called breasts which adorn the well-known sculptural representations of the Ephesian Artemis, and must be similarly explained".¹¹

⁵ See most recently Price (1989) 233-243.

⁶ See Segre (1948) 104-5 (letter to Kos); *SIG* II no.630 (Delphic Amphictyony); *SIG* II no.629 (Aetolian League). On the Nikephoria festival and its date see also: Hansen 407-8; Jones (1974) 183-205 [lit.].

⁷ See Le Rider (75-78) for a list of similar Hellenistic coinages. On the issues of the Ilian Confederacy see L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (Paris: Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie, 1966) 18-46.

⁸ Le Rider 72 ff.

⁹ O. Mørholm, "Some Pergamene coins in Copenhagen", *Studies in honour of L. Mildenberg*, eds. A. Houghton, S. Hurter, P.E. Mottahedeh, J.A. Scott (Belgium: Wetteren, 1984) 188-191.

¹⁰ Fig. 29: Mørholm (1984) pl. 28.c (Inv. no. I 1113). There are only three examples of Kybele represented in this fashion and they all come from the site of Mamurt-Kaleh. V. Müller, "Eine Statuette der Kybele in Wien", *RM* 34 (1919), 82-106.

¹¹ On the identification of the globes as breasts see R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und Verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 347-349. In 1997, Seiterle suggested that the Pergamene goddess shared a custom of bull sacrifices similar to the Ephesian goddess, and consequently the globes on her apron should probably be identified as the scrota of bulls; "Rückgabe des Zeusaltars - an Athena" *AntW* (1997) 201-208. Müller (92) suggested that they were pinecones, as the pine-tree was of particular importance in Kybele's cult and mythology, associated with the emasculation of her lover Attis; Ovid: *Fasti* 4.221-244; Arnobius: *Adv. Nat.* 5.5. On the interpretation of Artemis' decorations as breasts see, Fleischer 4-88. Fleischer's argument that Artemis' breasts were traces of a fertility cult was contested by Seiterle who instead argued that they were the scrota of bulls sacrificed to the goddess; G. Seiterle, "Artemis - die grosse Göttin von Ephesos" *AntW* 10.3 (1979) 2-16. Bammer, on the other hand, judging from the absence of animal bones in the Mycenaean layer of the Artemision, suggested that they refer to fruits or seeds offered to Artemis; A. Bammer, "A peripteros of the Geometric period in the Artemision of Ephesos", *AS* 40 (1990) 139-156. Similar breasts are depicted on the statues of Artemis of Sardis, Zeus Labraundeus and Zeus Osogoas of Mylassa. The only other possible example of Athena depicted with such breasts is on figurines (at least one identified with certainty as Athena) from Lindian colonies in Sicily. However, the evidence is too scarce to suggest a fertility cult; A.C. Villing, *The iconography of Athena in mainland Greece and the East Greek world in the 5th and 4th centuries BC* (DPhil, Oxford University, 1997).

Finally, considering that Athena is primarily a warrior goddess and a bringer of victory, Mørkholm suggested that under the influence of the Kappadokian Stratonike, wife of Eumenes II and daughter of the Kappadokian king Ariarathes IV, the Pergamene Athena acquired attributes of the great goddess Ma. Therefore, he argued that, following the reorganisation of the Nikephoria festival, this issue bore on the reverse the transformed cult statue of Athena Nikephoros incorporating elements of the Greek warrior goddess and the Kappadokian great goddess Ma.¹² In fact, he suggested that "in addition to being the warrior-goddess who decides battles in favour of the royal house of Pergamon, she was also a fertility deity who had assimilated many characteristics of the local mother-goddesses so popular in Asia Minor".¹³

Pantos (1986-9) agreed with the date of 181 BC but provided a different interpretation for the use of the coin and its meaning.¹⁴ He rejected Le Rider's argument, suggesting that, in the absence of mint-marks on the tetradrachms, they could not have been civic issues. He also argued against Mørkholm's "Ma theory", on the ground that there is no evidence of Ma's worship in Pergamon during the Attalids' reign.¹⁵ Pantos' alternative theory begins with the assumption that the genitive ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ should be interpreted as "statue of Athena Nikephoros" instead of "coin of Athena Nikephoros".¹⁶ He also argues that, on the occasion of the reorganisation of the Nikephoria festival (182/181 BC) Eumenes II issued this type of coin depicting on the reverse the new cult statue of Athena Nikephoros which replaced the old one that had probably been destroyed in the fire of 201 BC.¹⁷

In an effort to explain the origin of the composite elements of the new cult statue, Pantos referred to Pergamon's contemporary history. After the treaty of Apamea in 189 BC, the Pergamene kingdom was enlarged to incorporate a large part of western Asia Minor and such important cities as Ephesos, Sardis, and Tralles.¹⁸ Consequently, the city of Pergamon had become the religious and political centre of the kingdom. Evidence from coinage shows that the cities under Pergamene control contributed financially to the expenses of the Nikephoria festival (see below *The evidence*). Thus, Pantos concluded, the new cult statue was presented with characteristics of local Ionian fertility goddesses (e.g. Kybele, Artemis Ephesia) in an effort to project Athena Nikephoros as the tutelary deity of the entire kingdom, as answering the religious needs of both Greeks and the indigenous people of the Pergamene kingdom.¹⁹

¹² Mørkholm, also identifies the thunderbolt, which appears on the two coins in Paris and London, as the symbol of Ma used on the altar dedicated to her in Pergamon, dated to the 2nd century AD; see *AM* 29 (1904) 169 ff, no.12. On the marriage of Eumenes II to Stratonike in 188 BC see Livy 38.39.6; Strabo 12.4.2 C 624.

¹⁴ Mørkholm 191.

¹⁵ Pantos 148-156.

¹⁶ On the evidence of the worship of Ma in Pergamon see Ohlemutz 185-186.

¹⁷ Pantos 151-3.

¹⁸ Polybius 16.1.5-6 (destruction of the Nikephorion by Philip V ca. 201 BC).

¹⁹ Polybius 21.45.

Pantos 154-155.

A different theory altogether was put forward by Price who proposed the date of 168 BC for the issue of this type.²⁰ His whole argument rests on the redating of the Sitichoro hoard. Until recently the hoard was dated ca. 168-167 BC.²¹ In 1989, however, Price presented some unpublished material from the hoard that brought the date of its deposit down to ca. 165 BC. A *terminus ante quem* for the hoard is provided by the coins found in it of the First Macedonian Republic and the tetradrachms of Lysimachos of Byzantium that were issued after 168 BC, in some cases probably several years thereafter. In addition, the absence from both hoards (Sitichoro and Ma'aret-en-Numan) of Athenian new style coinage distinguishes these hoards from other mid-second century BC hoards. Consequently, Price argued that a date after 168 BC is secured for the deposit of the hoard; he himself favoured an approximate date of ca. 165 BC as being most plausible. However, he did not attempt to explain the composite nature of the cult statue. He only argued that the coin was probably issued by the sanctuary during the Gallic invasions of 168/7 BC, as a coin with a shield on its obverse would be "more suitable in a time of war".²²

The evidence

The variety of opinions presented so far suggests that in order to understand the iconography of the goddess on these coins it is imperative to study the nature of Athena's cult and religion along with her depictions in the art and coinage of Pergamon. The evidence presented on the art and cult of Athena in Pergamon indicates that the goddess was worshipped as a Hellenic deity devoid of any Oriental elements.²³

The earliest coins of Pergamon show Apollo on the obverse; not until the time of Lysimachos is the palladion represented.²⁴ The earliest iconographic representation of Athena from Pergamon comes from a group of gold coins. At the beginning of the 3rd century BC a number of gold staters were issued in Pergamon depicting on the reverse a palladion. The goddess is holding her spear in her uplifted right hand and in her left a shield from which hangs a knotted woollen fillet. She is wearing a chlamys with a swallow-tailed *epiblema* over her shoulders and a polos on the head.²⁵ The palladion on these coins is iconographically similar to the palladion on an archaizing relief found near her temple - though in the latter Athena is wearing a Korinthian helmet instead of a polos.²⁶

It has been suggested that these coins depicted the cult statue of Athena Polias, deliberately archaizing to give the impression that it was the original statue brought over by Auge.²⁷ The date of this type's issue is considered to be the opening day of Philetairos'

²⁰ Price (1989) 233-243.

²¹ IGCH no.237.

²² Price (1989) 239-240

²³ On the cult of Athena in Pergamon see Chapter 2 pp. 26-28; on the artistic representations of Athena see Chapter 2 pp. 36-37; Chapter 3 p. 89.

²⁴ H. von Fritze, *Die Münzen von Pergamon* (Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910) pl.I.1-5 (Apollo), 7 (palladion),

²⁵ Pantos 144 fig. 1; Schultz 11 fig.2; Villing 177.

²⁶ See Chapter 2 p. 26.

²⁷ IvP 156 ll. 23-24 (suggesting that Auge brought to Pergamon the cult statue); Ohlemutz 16 nn 1-2; Hansen 406; Pantos 143, 146 nn 28-29; Schalles 13 ff. L. Lacroix, is not sure that the coin and the relief depicted the

new temple to Athena, publicizing the image of the goddess' cult statue.²⁸ According to Pantos, the polos on the coins should be explained as the Attalids' conscious effort to depict the Pergamene Athena as a local Ionian deity.²⁹ On the Attalid royal coinage the type of Lysimachos' seated Athena is depicted.³⁰

However, the strongest argument against the theory that the coin type under examination was a festival issue is presented by a number of small bronze and silver coins. These coins bear on the obverse the head of Athena with a Korinthian helmet and on the reverse an owl in a wreath and the inscription ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ in the genitive.³¹ They are considered to be festival coins of the 2nd century BC.³² The most important detail of this type that differentiates it from the three tetradrachms, is the monogram of Pergamon inscribed below the owl, on the reverse. This monogram indicates that the mint of Pergamon was commissioned by the sanctuary to strike these coins for the financing of the Nikephoria festival. There are also examples of such coins with the monogram of other cities from the Pergamene kingdom (e.g. Ephesos, Sardis, Laodikaia). Fritze suggested that these cities offered their financial contribution to the festival and in exchange they had their monogram on the festival coins.³³ Consequently, if these smaller denominations (bearing on the reverse the city's mint-mark) were the official coinage of the festival, the coins in question must have had a different function.

The interpretation

The redating of the Sitichoro hoard to include the years immediately after 168 BC suggests the year 166 BC, the year of the Gauls' defeat, as a plausible date for this issue. Moreover, the evidence on the cult and worship of Athena Nikephoros from Pergamon indicates that Mørkholm's and Le Rider's "fertility explanation" cannot be accepted because the evidence is insufficient. Pantos' politically oriented interpretation seems more plausible but he does not attempt to interpret the significance of the seven globes and seven leafy twigs. Though Price's contribution to the dating is crucial, his observation that it must have been issued by the sanctuary because of the shield on the obverse seems quite facile. It is unlikely that the sanctuary rather than the state would authorise the issue of a coin in time of war. In fact I am not aware of a parallel case in Greek numismatic history.

cult statue of the goddess; *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques. La statuaire archaïque et classique* (Liège: Faculté de philosophie et lettres 1949) 124 n 5.

Ohlemutz 20-22; Schalles 6, 14-15 nn 75, 77; Pantos 147-148. However, Ohlemutz and Schalles suggested that the original cult statue was wearing a helmet, rather than a polos.

Pantos 148. In Asia Minor, the polos is also found on the cult statues of Athena from Erythrai, Athena Ilias, Athena Polias from Assos and probably Athena Magarsis; Pantos, nn 41-44 on bibliography on these cult statues. None of these statues, however, are of the palladion type as the Pergamene Athena.

³¹ See Chapter 2 pp. 22, 27.

H. von Fritze, "Zur chronologie der autonomen Prägung von Pergamon", in *Corolla Numismatica. Numismatic Essays in honour of Barclay V. Head* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906) 50ff, Table II.25, 30, 32-35.

³² Cf. e.g. Le Rider 77, nn 1-2; Schultz 20-21, fig.21; Pantos 149.

³³ Fritze, 32. For other Hellenistic examples of festival issues see above p. 187 n. 7. For the interpretation of such coins as festival issues see Robert 36-46.

Furthermore, if we assume, with Mørkholm and Le Rider, that the coin was issued in conjunction with the reorganisation of the Nikephoria festival in 181 BC and was re-issued each time the festival was celebrated, the three surviving examples are not enough to account for at least 18 subsequent recorded festivals running from 181 to 29 BC.³⁴ Moreover, the type is absent from hoards containing Pergamene coins dating both earlier and later than the 160s.³⁵ The excellent state of preservation of these three coins (hardly any signs of wear are discernible) and the distinctive absence of this type from hoards containing Pergamene coins indicate that it could not have been the official coinage of the Nikephoria festival. This is further confirmed by the number of small bronze and silver coins that have been identified as festival coins (see above *The evidence*).

The composite nature of Athena Nikephoros on the Athena-Medusa coins deviates markedly from the traditional Greek representation of the goddess Athena in Pergamon. Moreover, the spherical globes on the goddess' pinnafore do not resemble the decorations on the Kybele statuette or Artemis Ephesia. Those on Kybele's pinnafore are flat at the top and pointed at the lower end while the ones on the Ephesian goddess have a distinctive egg-shape.³⁶

As this is the only surviving representation of Athena Nikephoros with this iconography, one might argue that the artist found it difficult to depict the breast-like elements on a coin. Such an argument seems weak in light of the existence of coins from Ephesus representing, on the reverse, the statue of Ephesian Artemis with clearly designated "breasts" or egg-shaped decorations.³⁷

It may be that the representation of Athena Nikephoros in such fashion was connected with contemporary events, and such an interpretation would not be without precedent in Pergamene history.³⁸

When the Gauls invaded Pergamene territory in 168 BC, Eumenes II's brother, Attalos, was sent to Rome to appeal for aid.³⁹ The Romans, fearing Eumenes' growing power in Asia Minor, refused to help.⁴⁰ Thus, Eumenes was forced to fight the Gauls on his own, and from his subsequent victory in 166 BC he emerged as champion of the Greeks of Asia Minor.⁴¹ Against this background the introduction of a new type of coin, the kistophoros, which celebrated the two deities Herakles and Dionysos, from whom the Attalids claimed descent, signalled the beginning of a new era of prosperity for the

³⁴ Mørkholm, 188; Le Rider, 70. On the inscriptional evidence of Nikephoria festivals see IvP. nos. 167, 223, 226; Jones, 183-205.

³⁵ IGCH nos. 1326 (Mysia, 135-130 BC), 1327 (Mysia, ca. 130 BC), 1328 (Caria, 130-125 BC), 1452 (Asia Minor, 150-145 BC), 1453 (Asia Minor, 150-145 BC), 1455 (Asia Minor, 125 BC), 1772 (Urfa in Mesopotamia, 185-160 BC).

³⁶ See above p. 191 n. 11.

³⁷ Cf. e.g. a Claudian coin (41-54 AD) from the mint of Ephesus. Fleischer 43, plate 55a.

³⁸ See above for an interpretation of the polos of the palladion on the Pergamene gold staters (p. 194, n. 29).

³⁹ See also Villing *Iconography*.

⁴⁰ Polybius, 29.31; Livy, *Hist.* 45.

⁴¹ Welles no. 61, ll. 14-5.

On the honours Eumenes II received from the Greek cities for his defeat of the Gauls see Chapter 2 *Gauls* pp. 18-19.

Pergamene kingdom.⁴² Pergamon formed an economic alliance with cities of her domain and issued a common type of coin that could easily be exchanged in the rest of the Greek world. All authorities agree that the function of the kistophoros was to create a single currency and a common economic market throughout the territory under the control or influence of the Attalids.

The resemblance of the Athena Nikephoros on our coins to the Kybele statuette (Fig. 29) is indeed striking. However the archaeological evidence from the site of Mamurt-Kaleh and Pergamon shows that the Attalids did not attempt to fuse the two cults; nor was the cult of Kybele overshadowed by that of Athena. Attalid dedications and the richness of archaeological material, both from Mamurt-Kaleh and the goddess' sanctuary (Megalesion) outside the city-walls, form evidence of an unbroken cult tradition in honour of Kybele from Attalid through Roman times.⁴³

Athena Nikephoros on the Medusa coin wears an apron with seven balls, the largest one in the centre. Her left hand holds a branch with seven leafy shoots. The balls could not possibly have represented breasts, symbols of a fertility cult, as they lack the most important element of fertility, the nipples. The absence of these spherical globes from representations of Athena Nikephoros on coins dated in the Roman period clearly indicates that these globes were not depicted on the goddess' cult statue.⁴⁴ Finally, the globes on Athena's pinafore are placed on an apron tied around her waist far too low to be considered breasts. The equal number of balls and shoots may well mean that they alluded to the same idea.

From the evidence of the hoards bearing kistophoroi and buried between 150 and 128 BC, there were seven cities minting kistophoroi: Pergamon, Tralles, Sardis, Ephesos, Synnada, Apamea and Laodikaia.⁴⁵ It is not until after 133 BC and the formation of the Roman province of Asia, that other cities of the Pergamene kingdom produced kistophoroi.⁴⁶

It is possible that the Medusa-Athena type was struck as a special issue, commemorating this economic alliance. The central ball on the goddess' apron, being the largest, represented the capital Pergamon, the seat of Attalid power; the other six the remaining cities issuing kistophoroi. The seven leafy shoots may well have had the same significance, each representing one city, the top one being Pergamon. The Pergamene kingdom incorporated cities (such as Ephesos and Sardis) in which the worship of oriental deities such as Kybele and Ephesian Artemis was prominent. It is possible that when Eumenes II issued this type of coin the city's patron-deity was intentionally represented in such hybrid fashion as a sign of good-will towards the other cities of the alliance.

⁴² See Chapter 2 pp. 23-24 and App. 1 pp. 184-185.

⁴³ The first Attalid ruler Philetaeros (283-263 BC), was responsible for the erection of a sanctuary at the site of Mamurt-Kaleh: Strabo, *Geography* 13.2.6 (C 619). The Megalesion was probably built by Attalos I, as is stated by Varro *LL* 6.15. For more dedications see Hansen 263, 398-400.

⁴⁴ Cf. e.g. Le Rider, 72 ff, figs. 4-9.

⁴⁵ Hoards containing *cistophoroi*: *IGCH* nos. 1326 (ca. 135 BC), 1327 (ca. 130 BC), 1328 (ca. 128 BC), 1452 (150-145 BC), 1453 (145-140 BC), 1455 (ca. 128 BC). Kleiner & Noe, 10-18.

⁴⁶ Noe (1950) 40.

Consequently, Athena Nikephoros appeared not just as Pergamon's patron deity but as patron-deity of the wider economic alliance.⁴⁷

A parallel case, though from a different context, of iconographic symbolism could be the co-ordinated issue of eight cities in Asia Minor with pro-Spartan sentiments after 405 BC. The coinage has civic types on its obverse but shares the motif of an infant strangling a serpent and the legend ΣΥΝ on the reverse. The reference seems to be to Lysander, Sparta's naval commander, who was a Heraklid and accredited by Ion of Samos with the "breaking of the force of the snake-shaped Kekrops" (Athens). According to Karwiese this exceptional use of political symbolism is explicable because it was the political context of the alliance which the eight cities had in common.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ An idea already suggested by Pantos (see above p. 192, nn 18-19) but argued for the events preceding the year 181 BC. (i.e. Apamea Treaty 189 BC).

⁴⁸ Issuing cities: Rhodes, Byzantium, Kyzikos, Lampsakos, Ephesos, Samos, Iasos and Knidos. S. Karwiese "Lysander as Herakliskos Drakopnigon" *NC* 140, 7th series (1980) 1-27; Howhego 63, fig. 10. With the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami the Athenian empire at the Hellespont and Thrace collapses. Cities of Asia Minor and the Aegan openly declare their friendship with Sparta either of actual conviction or of opportunism.

CATALOGUE

GIGANTOMACHY FRIEZE

In the Catalogue that follows only the names of the deities and giants that can be identified with certainty through the inscriptional evidence or their attributes will be mentioned. For the surviving inscriptions bearing the names of gods and giants see Table 2. For the various theories on individual identifications refer to Chapter 3 (section 2) and the table of reconstructions at the end for the Gigantomachy frieze (Table 3). The dimensions of the individual panels are taken from the Berlin Museum's inventory. The dimensions of recently reconstructed panels have not as yet been provided.

South/west staircase

Cat. no. 1: Panel 1

Height: 1.40m

Length: 1.63m

On the right hand side of the panel a giant is depicted. He is naked and has wings on his back and a pair of snake-legs. His right snake-leg is attacking an eagle that approaches from the left. The bird is sinking its talons in the snake's jaw. The giant's head does not survive but from the remains of his neck and the twist of his body he seems to have directed his attention to an opponent who was depicted in the following missing panel. The giant's left arm does not survive and his right arm is cut off at the elbow. Traces of an animal skin, tied in a knot over his right shoulder are still visible. His body is depicted youthful. On the cornice above his right wing the inscription BPO ... indicates his name.¹

Cat. no. 2: Panels 2-3

Height: 2.30m

Length: 0.74 (female torso)

The remains of a female deity are depicted on these panels. Only parts of her upper body and her left leg (up-to-the-knee) survive. She has her back turned to the spectator. Her hair is neatly tied in a bun above her neck. Her face does not survive but her head is turned to the, now-missing, figure from the previous panel. Her left arm, cut off right below the elbow, is raised before her. Her right arm does not survive. From what remains of her garment it seems that she was wearing a sleeveless, short, knee-length, *chiton*. Her footwear consists of short calf-length boots decorated with palmettes and floral designs (Cat. no. 2. a). From the position of her body and leg it seems that she was making an open stride. She was either

¹IvP no.113.

engaged in a physical battle with an assailant or, more probably, about to hurl something at him with her right hand. In front of her leg is a fragment of chiton belonging to a now-missing figure. The inscription on the socle reads NY².

Cat. no. 3: Panels 4-5

Height 2.30m

Length: approx. 1.04m

These very badly damaged panels carry the remains of a battling group consisting of a naked giant and a female deity dressed in a long chiton. The giant has serpent-legs. One of the snakes is sinking its fangs in the deity's left leg (panel 5). The earth-born is forced onto his knees while the deity grabs him from behind; from the remains of his torso it is evident that he is facing the spectator. His left arm is raised over his head probably in an attempt to prevent the attacking deity from inflicting a fatal blow. While his left snake-leg is biting the deity's right leg. Unfortunately the remains of the female deity are not enough for identification. She seems to be wearing a long chiton that reaches to the ground and elegantly covers the heel of the right foot. From what survives of the right foot it is evident that she is wearing sandals. Her right arm is raised and its fist, clenched around an object, is ready to inflict a fatal blow on the kneeling giant.

South/west front

Cat. no. 4: Panel 6 *Dionysos and Satyrs*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 1.15m

The figure of the god Dionysos accompanied by two satyrs is depicted on this panel. Even though the inscriptional evidence testifying to the identity of the god does not survive there is an inscription verifying the two accompanying figures as Satyrs, the god's retinue.³ The tall figure of the god occupies the height of the entire panel. He is striding towards the left - left leg forwards, right leg trailing behind. From what survives of his arms, cut off before the elbow, they seem to have been wide open. The god is wearing a short, knee-length, chiton with a *diploidion* fastened below his breasts. Traces of the god's panther-skin hanging over his chest are still visible; his garment is comparable to the one he wears on the Telephos frieze panel 31, (Cat. no. 55). His mantle is passed around his extended left arm and is depicted flowing behind him in a wind-swept effect. Unfortunately the god's head does not survive but traces of hair on his shoulders indicate that he had long wavy hair falling in heavy locks onto his shoulders and down the front of his chest. The god's short, calf-length boots, decorated with floral designs and vine-leaves, complete his attire.

²IvP no.102.

³ΣΑΤΥΡΟΙ: IvP no. 82a.

Behind the god and in a smaller scale, are the remains of the overlapping figures of two satyrs; the second satyr is only just visible in the background executed in very low relief.⁴ They have a human appearance, lacking the bestial qualities of satyrs in art. They are depicted in the same advancing position as the god. In effect they are two miniature Dionysoi, assisting the god in his battle against the now missing giant in the following panel. According to Schmidt the god was most probably depicted overpowering his opponent with his ivy thyrsus.⁵

Cat. no. 5: Panels 7-10

Height: 2.30m

Length: 1.95m (for panels 9-10)

The fragments of a giant (panels 7-8), a lion and a female deity. Despite the absence of inscriptional evidence the female goddess has been identified as Semele, Dionysos' mother.⁶ She is wearing a long chiton with a *diploidion* fastened around her waist by means of a girdle. She is advancing towards the left, in the direction of her son. Her face does not survive but her long, wavy hair has been neatly gathered at the back of her head. The heavy thick folds of her long drapery reach down to her feet. Only a small fragment of her left sandaled foot survives (Cat. no. 5.a). Her arms do not survive and so her action cannot be determined with certainty. In front of her, the lion is attacking the giant in panels 7-8. The latter is reeling backwards from the force of the attacking beast. With his right hand firmly placed on the rocky ground he is preventing himself from being completely overcome. His left arm would have probably been used to defend himself from the lion's jaws. Unlike the previously described giants he seems to have had a completely human form. His left foot is braced against the groin of the beast. The lion is standing on its hind legs and with its front legs springing on the earth-born.

South frieze

Cat. no. 6: Panels 11-13 *Rhea-Kybele*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 2.630m

A flying eagle and a goddess riding into battle on a lion. Despite the fragmentary state of the restored inscription the female deity has been identified as the Titan Rhea-Kybele.⁷ In panel 11 an eagle is flying to the left corner of the frieze. In its claws it is carrying Zeus' thunderbolt and it seems to be resting on the tail of Kybele's lion. The eagle's wings are half-open as it is about to land on the beast's tail. The blossoms of a flower are hanging from the thunderbolt.

⁴Winnefeld 13-15.

⁵Schmidt (1965) 17.

⁶See Table 3.

⁷... EA.. or ... EA: IvP no.107.

The lion charges into battle with its head turned towards the spectator and its front legs already off the ground. Its mane is thick and long. On its back the goddess Kybele rides side-ways. She wears a long, sleeveless chiton fastened below her breast by a girdle ending in tassels. She sits on one end of her mantle while the other flows in the air behind her. Her face does not survive but she seems to have been looking towards the battle taking place before her. Her long curly hair falls gracefully over her shoulders. Her chiton over her left shoulder has slipped over her arm to reveal her bare shoulder. With her right hand she draws an arrow from the quiver fastened across her back. Her left hand, cut off right before the wrist, was quite probably holding the bow that the goddess would use to shoot the arrow at a giant in the distance. She does not seem to have a direct adversary but she is rather riding into battle ready to shoot her arrows in defence of any of her children or grandchildren.

Cat. no. 7: Panels 14-17

Height: 2.30m

Length: 2.390m (panels 14-16; the dimensions of the giant in panel 17 are not given in the *AvP* III.2)

In front of Kybele's lion a younger goddess is advancing towards the battling group in panels 15-17 - left foot forwards, right foot trailing. She is wearing a long chiton with short sleeves and a *diploidion* fastened right below her breast and tied over her shoulders with brooches. Her long and heavy mantle is flowing around her body. Her long hair is tied in a bun behind her head. Her right arm, cut off before the elbow, is extended backwards. She is ready to hurl something at the giant in panel 16 or at another one who would have been depicted on the adjoining but missing panels.

The battling group in front of her involves two gods and a giant. The god in panel 15 stands naked behind the giant in panel 16. His weight seems to rest on his slightly bent left leg. His right leg is stretched behind him. With both arms lifted above his head he holds a hammer and is about to strike a fatal blow to the giant before him.⁸ The giant against whom the attack is taking place is of a monstrous nature. His lower limbs consist of a pair of snakes. The open mouth of one of them can be seen on the right hand-side of panel 14, hissing at the female deity. The giant's body is of a human form but his neck and head is that of a bull. His facial features however, are those of a human. A pair of horns decorate his head. He has a long, curly beard and thick eyebrows executed in deep and crudely cut grooves which intensify his bestial form. His forehead is frowning, his eyes are deeply set in their sockets and his mouth is wide open. In his chest, the weapon of his other assailant has been plunged. His hands do not survive but from the position of his right arm it might be possible to assume that the giant was trying to free himself from his assailant. His opponent is kneeling in panel 17. He has his back turned to the

⁸Traces of the hammer can be seen in panel 14 right above the head of the snake. Winnefeld 20 and fig.1.

spectator. His weight rests on his right knee while his left leg is stretched across panel 16. with both hands he holds the weapon that he is already thrusting in the beast's chest. He is naked and has his mantle wrapped around his left hand.

Cat. no. 8: Panels 18-19

Height: 2.30m

Length: 1.84m

In panels 18-19 a female deity is riding a horse towards the left of the frieze. Thus, she is interrupting the rightwards course of direction that had been set by the figure of Rhea. She is wearing a long short-sleeved chiton fastened below her breast with a girdle. Over her back and across her lap she has thrown her mantle which seems to be of a different material to that of her chiton. She is riding side-ways. The horse's and the deity's position is in a three-quarter view; her legs are turned to the right though the beast is essentially moving to the left. Her right arm is passed around the horse's neck while her left arm was probably holding the reins.⁹ Her feet are crossed in an effort to give her added balance. Only a small fragment of the goddess' left foot has survived - not enough to distinguish the type of footwear but it seems that she was wearing some kind of a *krepis*.

Her horse is galloping with its front legs already in the air. Its head is turned backwards as if looking at the action taking place behind. Traces of the horse's bridle are still visible on its head.

Cat. no. 9: Panels 20-23 *Helios and his chariot*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 3.78m

The god Helios is riding his chariot against a giant. He wears a long chiton with short sleeves, fastened below his chest by means of a girdle. Over his shoulders hangs a long cloak. In his hair he has a fillet. Despite the absence of inscriptional evidence testifying to his identity, his identification is clear from earlier iconographic material. He is riding a four-horse chariot, holding in his right hand a torch and in his left the reins. He has his right foot on the chariot, his left foot on the ground. He is about to hurl his torch at an opponent in panel 20. The god's mouth is half-open and his deep-set eyes stare directly at the giant before him.

Of his horses the left one has been executed in high, the rest in lower relief. Rearing on its hind legs, with its mouth wide open and its muscles fully tensed, it is ready to tread upon the giant before it. Under the hooves of Helios' steeds are the fragments of the lifeless body of another giant. The same fate threatens the naked, youthful and fully human-formed giant in panel 20. He is slightly turning to the left, placing his weight on his bent right leg. His left hand, extended before him, holds an animal-skin as a shield against the horse's mouth. In his right hand, which is broken

⁹Winnefeld 24.

off right below the arm, he was most probably holding some sort of weapon in defence of himself. His face does not survive but traces of his long wavy hair are still visible flowing in the background.

Cat. no. 10: Panels 24-28

Height: 2.30m

Length: 0.77m (panel 24), 2.790m (panels 26-28)

A female deity is depicted in panel 24. Unfortunately only part of her upper torso survives; cut off just below the breast. She stands, facing right towards the giant in panel 26. She is wearing a short-sleeved chiton fastened by a thin girdle right below her breast. Her long hair is tied in a bun at the back of her head, but a few locks are flowing from the inner side of her head. A thin fillet keeps her hair off her face. Her right shoulder is pushed backwards, her left brought forward. She was probably holding her weapon in her right hand as she seems ready to charge at her opponent.

The goddess is confronted by the naked young giant in panel 26. He stands in profile, facing to the left. From the surviving fragments of his left thigh it is evident that he had a human form. He is advancing with his right foot forward. His arms do not survive, both being cut off at the shoulders, so that it is impossible to establish his actions. He may have been about to throw something with his right hand as his left shoulder is closing inwards and forwards; a similar position to that of Helios in Cat. no. 9. Consequently his position seems to counter-balance that of the goddess in panel 24; her right shoulder pushed outwards and backwards. He has short wavy hair and wears a *Pseudo-Attic* helmet. His mouth is half-open and his forehead frowning.

In panel 27 a dead giant lies on his back with his shield beside him. Only his right leg and fragments of his left leg survive, indicating that he had a fully human form. The snake depicted on the left-hand side of the panel and above the giant's right leg probably belonged to the lower parts of another giant who does not otherwise survive. Upon his remains treads the riding goddess in panel 28. She is riding a mule, side-saddle with her back turned to us.¹⁰ She is following the direction of Helios' steeds. She is dressed in a long chiton with short sleeves fastened above the waist by a girdle. Her left shoulder is exposed as her chiton has slipped over her arm. She has long wavy hair neatly tied in a bun at the back of her head. However, a few curly locks have fallen on her neck. She has a long mantle wrapped around her back. The texture of her two garments is clearly distinguished, as in the case of the goddess in Cat. no.8. Her mouth is half-open. The back of her mule is covered by the hide of an animal which plays the role of the saddle. With her left hand, cut off below the shoulder, she was probably holding the reins. Her right arm is cut off at the shoulder and so its action is uncertain.

¹⁰Heilmeyer (1997) 92 cat. no.9.

Cat. no. 11: Panels 29-32

Height: 2.30m

Length: 3.905m

In panels 29-30 a lion-headed giant is fighting with a male deity. On the left hand side of panel 29 are the remains of a deity from the previous missing panel; an arm with a mantle wrapped around it and fragments of a flowing garment. The giant in panel 29 has a monstrous form: he has the head of a lion; the body of a powerful human; his hands end in lion-paws; and he has a pair of snakes for legs. Fragments of his right snake-leg are coiled in panel 29. The beast's rich mane is in sharp contrast with the exaggerated musculature of its body. The god in panel 30 has grasped the giant with both hands by the neck and is pulling him down. The giant is trying to free himself from the god's powerful grip by sinking its right-hand claws into the god's left arm. The claws of his left hand are grabbing the god's left thigh. The beast's mouth is wide open and it has a furrowed forehead.

The god, against whom he is fighting, has his chiton tied around his waist. His left leg is advancing. His right leg holds the weight of the god's body as he leans slightly backwards from the effort. His long hair is held back by means of a fillet. Both figures stand on ground surface.

In panels 31-32 is another battling group. The giant (panels 30-31) is naked and has completely human form. He has short curly hair and a youthful, strong body. He has fallen on the ground under the impact of his opponent's attack. With his right hand on the rocky ground the giant is trying to keep his balance. At the same time he attempts to defend himself with his left arm wrapped in an animal-skin and raised in front of his opponent. The god, against whom he is fighting, has a pair of wings. He is wearing a short *exomis*, leaving his right shoulder exposed. He has a bushy beard and short curly hair held back from his face by means of a fillet. Over his right shoulder and across his body hangs the sheath for his sword. In his left hand he is holding his round shield and in his right his sword. He has his mantle passed around his left arm from the inside of his shield. His left leg is bent and his body leans slightly to the left. His right hand is raised above his head and he is about to inflict a fatal blow upon the giant.

On the right-hand side of panel 32 are the remains of a female deity; a piece of her right leg has survived. She was wearing a long chiton and a mantle and was advancing to the right. The surviving inscriptional evidence testifies to her identity as the Titan Themis.¹¹

¹¹ΘΕΜΙΣ IvP no.99.

Cat. no. 12: Panels 33-34

Height: 2.30m

Length: 1.77m

In panel 33 are the remains of the giant fighting the goddess on the right-hand side of panel 32. The newly found inscriptional evidence identifies him as the giant Maimaches.¹² He kneels on the ground overcome by the impact of her attack. Only a fragment of his back survives and therefore it is not possible to determine if he was of a hybrid nature. From the position of his back, slightly leaning to the right, it seems probable that the giant was resting his weight on his right hand. His left hand was probably raised in front of him to protect him from his opponent's blows. Above his head is a fragment of the goddess' arm wrapped in her mantle.

In the foreground of panel 34 are the remains of a dead giant, lying across the panel to the left of the frieze. He is lying over his own coiled serpent-legs and his head droops lifeless over his arms. Yet his snake legs are still alive, as one of them seeks to avenge his death by hissing in the direction of Themis in panels 32-33. The dead giant is beardless and quite youthful. Strands of long, wavy hair sprawl across his face and neck. His mouth is half-open and his eye-lids shut.

Above him stands another giant confronting the goddess in panels 35-6 (Cat. no. 13). He is turned to the right, leaning backwards and resting his weight on his bent right leg. His left leg does not survive but it was probably stretched out in front of him. His right arm is extended at the back and he seems to be ready to hurl something at his opponent; his hand is cut off at the wrist. His left side does not survive as that half of his body was depicted on the adjoining panel - a bit of his wing survives. He has a human body but a pair of wings with fins and feathers decorate his back. Similar kind of fins seem to grow from his ears and above his forehead. He has a bushy beard, half-open mouth, and a frowning forehead. His body is naked.

Cat. no. 13: Panels 35-38 *Asteria group*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 3.650m

Panel 35 is in an extremely fragmentary state depicting only part of the left wing of the giant in panel 34. In panel 36 is his female adversary. She is advancing to the left against her opponent. Her face is in profile view and she has her back turned to the spectator. She wears a long, sleeveless chiton and a thick *diploidion*. Her long mantle is been fastened around her waist. Strands of her long wavy hair are tied loosely in a bun at the back of her head, allowing a few long locks to fall gracefully over her back. Her left arm does not survive but her right arm is holding a huge fiery torch which she is about to hurl at her opponent. On her wrist she wears a bracelet.

¹²MAIMA[XHΣ]: Kästner, (1998) 149 n.20, the fragment is unpublished.

The female deity in panel 36 has her back turned to a ferocious battling group which forms the last two panels of the south frieze. A female goddess with her dog is attacking a kneeling giant. The inscriptional evidence identifies the goddess as Asteria.¹³ She is advancing to the right of the frieze and wears a long with short sleeves and a *diploidion* fastened below her breast by a girdle. She wears a delicately treated pair of boots. Her short mantle flows over her back. Her long hair was probably tied in a bun at the back of her head; a long and thick lock of hair is still visible neatly tucked in on the side of her head. She is in profile view, trampling upon one of her opponent's snake-legs. With her left hand she grabs him by the hair and with her left she is about to plunge her sword in his chest.

Her opponent has been reduced to his knees. He is naked with a human body and snake-legs. A row of fins is visible over the serpent-scales. His body is in profile view and he leans backwards as the goddess pulls his head from behind. He is being pressed still on the ground by the goddess' left leg which is stepping on his right snake-leg. With his left hand he grabs Asteria's right hand, trying to prevent her striking him with the sword. With his right hand he attempts to free himself from the jaws of her dog which sinks its teeth in his right snake-leg. Despite his precarious position, the snakes are hissing in the direction of the goddess in their attempt to defend him.

East frieze

Cat. no. 14: Panels 39-40 *Giant vs. Hekate*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 2.015m

In panel 39 a giant fights against Hekate in panel 40. He is kneeling on the ground facing to the right. He is nude and he has a human body and a pair of snake-legs. Despite his serpent legs, on his thighs there is a row of fins before the serpent-scales. He seems to be in a precarious position as he is fighting against the goddess while her dog is sinking its teeth in his left thigh. The snakes on his legs have risen against the goddess to defend him. Their open mouths decorated with a row of deadly teeth are hissing in the direction of the goddess. He has both arms raised above his head, holding a huge stone which he is ready to hurl at the goddess; only his right arm holding the stone and a fragment of his left hand survive. His head is slightly tilted to the left and his gaze is directed upwards toward the goddess. He has a frowning forehead and a half-open mouth. He has short curly hair, a bushy beard and eyebrows executed in high relief.

The goddess Hekate is in profile view facing to the left, resting her weight on her right leg; left leg poised on tip-toe on the ground. Despite the absence of

¹³[A]Σ[T]EPIH: IvP no.89.

inscriptional evidence testifying to her identity, her person is verified by her three-bodied form.¹⁴ Only two of her heads have been executed but all three pairs of arms are equipped with a weapon to attack the giant. The body of the goddess mostly visible to us is wearing a long, sleeveless chiton and a *diploidion* fastened around her waist with a thick belt. Her mantle is thrown over her right shoulder and across her back where it has been passed through her thick belt forming a loop to secure it to place. Her left foot wears a boot with spiral decoration. The head closest to us is executed in high relief. She has long, shoulder-length hair which is held back by means of a fillet. Her second head is executed in lower relief and seems to have had long hair, held loosely in a bun at the back of her head.

Each one of her right arms holds some sort of weapon - her top right hand, executed in high relief, a flaming torch, her second hand, also in high relief, a lance, her third, in low relief, a sword. Of her left arms only two are depicted: one of them holds a round shield for protection in front of her bodies. The lower end of this shield is bitten by the left snake-leg of her opponent. Her other left hand holds the sheath of her sword.

Cat. no. 15: Panels 41-43 *Giant vs. Artemis*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 3.10m

In panel 41 is a giant of completely human form. He is quite young and handsome - thus distinctively different from his monstrous brothers. He is standing in profile view, advancing to the right; right leg forwards. In his left hand is a round shield, the interior of which is decorated with palmettes and its arm-strap bears the representation of a winged *gorgoneion*. His right hand is holding a sword; the sheath still hangs from its belt on his left side. On his head he is wearing a *Pseudo-Korinthian* helmet decorated with a long hanging plume of horse-hair. From underneath his helmet small locks of his short curly hair decorate his face and neck. His mouth is slightly open and his wide-open eyes gaze at Artemis who is rushing towards him from panel 43.

Artemis is in profile view and is wearing a short (knee-length) sleeveless chiton with her mantle tied around her waist. Her quiver is tied over her back by means of a wide belt. She has long wavy hair tied at the back of her head with a ribbon. Her beautiful and youthful face is looking at her opponent. Her left arm does not survive but from the surviving fragment of her right hand it is evident that she was stretching her bow ready to fire her arrows at her opponent. With her right foot she is stepping over the dead body of a giant. Her footwear consists of a pair of low, calf-length boots decorated with spirals (Cat. no. 15.3).

Between Artemis and her opponent lies another snake-legged giant (panel 42) who has been attacked by the goddess' horned dog. This giant has short curly hair,

¹⁴Winnefeld 42-43 no.10.2.

thick eyebrows and a bushy beard. He has hair in his armpits and on his abdomen. He has a frowning forehead and an open mouth. He has succumbed to the bite of the dog whose teeth are sunk into his neck. He tries to defend himself by forcing the middle finger of his right hand into the animal's right eye. His left hand, almost lifeless, lies over the goddess' right boot while his serpent-legs are sprawled on either direction. Only part of the thigh of his left leg survives. The snake of his right leg is treacherously attacking Hekate, in panel 40, from behind.

Cat. no. 16: Panels 44-45 *Leto vs. Giant*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 2.15m

In panels 44-45 Leto is fighting against a winged giant. The figure of Leto can be identified with certainty from the surviving epigraphic evidence.¹⁵ She stands, facing to the right. Her body is frontal, her face in profile. She is about to attack her opponent; left leg advanced. She wears long sleeveless chiton, fastened below her breast with a belt. Her mantle, part of which is seen flowing behind her, is wrapped around her waist as a thick belt. Her footwear consists of a type of krepis. She has long hair which has been loosely tied at the back of her head. In her hands she holds a flaming torch with which she is about to attack her assailant.

Her opponent has fallen on the rocky ground in panel 45. He has a human torso but small wings grow from his shoulders. A tail with scales seems to be coming out of his lower back. His hands are in the form of bird's claws. His wavy hair is shoulder-length. With his left hand on the rocky ground-line he keeps himself from falling, using his right to keep Leto's torch from his face. His right foot has not survived but his left foot is pushing against the goddess' right thigh in an effort to defend himself. His mouth is wide-open and he has a frowning forehead and wide-open eyes that seem to look straight into those of the goddess.

Cat. no. 17: panels 46-48 *Apollo vs. Giant*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 2.57m (excluding the head of the giant in panel 48
whose height is 0.53m)

In panels 46-48 a god fights against two giants; the giant in panel 47 has already fallen to the ground. The god stands, facing right. He rests his weight on his right leg. His body is frontal but his face, which does not survive, was probably in profile looking at his opponent in panel 48. From his right shoulder and across his body the leather belt which holds his quiver at the back is passed. Both his arms are extended on either side. His posture, the surviving fragments of his quiver and the out-stretched arms indicate that the god was fighting with a bow. Despite the absence of epigraphic evidence, the god's proximity to the battling groups of Artemis and Leto

¹⁵ ΔΗ[Τ]Ω: IvP no.101.

and the probability that he is fighting with a now missing bow make it quite certain that the god depicted is Apollo. He is naked with his mantle hanging from his outstretched right arm. He stands over the dying body of one of his opponents who is lying in the foreground of panels 46-47.

The giant is quite young and has a completely human body. He rests his weight on his left hand which is placed on the ground. His right arm does not survive; cut off below the shoulder. His left leg is clenched behind his thigh while his right leg, cut off right above the knee, was probably sprawled across the panel. On his head he is wearing a pseudo-Attic helmet. His mouth is half-open and his eyelids are firmly shut and his head flops to one side in death.

The same fate awaits the god's opponent in panel 48. Only his head and fragments of his coiled snake-legs survive. He has short wavy hair and a bushy beard. With his half open mouth and frowning forehead he watches the god who is ready to fire arrows at him.

Cat. no. 18: Panels 49-52 *Hera*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 1.38m (fragment of the wing), 0.85m (panel 52)

These panels are extremely fragmentary. In panels 49-50 are the remains of a large right wing which cannot be assigned to either deity or giant. Below the wing, pieces of the flying mantle of an adjoining figure have survived.

In panel 52 are the remains of the goddess Hera; only a fragment of her body above the waist survives. Her position and identity on the frieze are established by the surviving inscription on the cornice.¹⁶ The goddess was probably wearing a long sleeveless chiton, fastened below her breast by a thin belt. Her mantle is flowing at the back and across her body. She has long hair neatly tied in a bun at the back of her head and is wearing a crown-like headdress. She is depicted stepping from a chariot drawn by four winged horses (Cat. no. 19). She faces to the right. Her arms do not survive.

Cat. no. 19: Panels 54-56

Height: 2.30m

Length: 3.04m

Hera's chariot is drawn by four winged-horses. Unlike Helios' steeds, Hera's horses have been executed in a higher degree of relief-work thus making each one of them a separate study. Three of them can still be seen whereas, only the front hooves of the second horse from the left have survived. They are storming into battle towards the right and the battling groups of Zeus and Athena. Underneath their hooves lie the dead bodies of giants. One of the dead giants is lying over the body of another, his naked body trampled by the goddess's horses. He is wearing a pseudo-Attic helmet with volute

¹⁶H[P]A: IvP no.96a.

decorations. He lies on his side with only his back visible to the spectator. His right arm covers his face whereas his left arm lies lifeless over the dead body of a second armour-clad giant. Only a small fragment of that second giant's corslet and left thigh survive. The rest of his body was either covered by his round shield or it has been badly damaged. From what survives it is evident that he was lying on his back. His shield is decorated with a 12-ray star.

Cat. no. 20: Panels 58-61 Zeus' battling group

Height: 2.30m

Length: 3.67m

Before Zeus' battling group (panels 58-61) the lost figure of Herakles was depicted in panel 57 coming to the aid of his divine father. His presence is attested by the surviving cornice inscription¹⁷ and one of the paws of his lion pelt which is visible above the giant's shield in panel 58. In panels 58-61 is one of the most powerful and prominent battling groups of the Gigantomachy. Zeus, the father of the Olympians, fights against three giants. His body is covered by his royal mantle which is thrown over his left shoulder and passed across his waist and thighs covering his genitals. His footwear is of the *krepis* type. His body is frontal, resting his weight on his bent right leg. The god leans backwards and is about to hurl one of his thunderbolts at his opponent in panel 61. His left arm stretched at the front is holding his aegis which hung over the giant in panel 60.

The god's powerful aegis has a paralysing effect on the giant (panel 60) who is depicted kneeling on the foreground holding his dead right shoulder with his left hand. His completely human body is in a frontal position. The giant who has short wavy hair, has directed his gaze at the god. His face has not survived. To the left of the god (panel 58) is another giant. He has already been struck by the god's thunderbolt. He is in profile view, sitting on the rocky ground, facing to the right. He has a completely human form and bears in his left hand a shield. The god's flaming thunderbolt has pierced his right thigh while blood gushes from an earlier wound on his left thigh. The flames from Zeus' weapon have engulfed his shield and are about to devour him as well. His right arm does not survive entirely (cut off above the elbow) but from its position it is evident that he was probably using it to lean against the rocky ground. He has been fighting with a sword, indicated only by its sheath hanging over his left side.

Zeus' third opponent is in panel 61. He has been identified as the giant Porphyryon.¹⁸ He has a human body but a pair of snake-legs. He is facing left towards the god and has his back turned to the spectator. He has short wavy hair and a bushy beard. His large pointed ears resemble those of a goat.¹⁹ His right arm does not survive. It has been suggested that he was probably holding a rock which he was about to throw at the god.²⁰ His left arm, wrapped in a lion's skin, is stretched out to protect himself from Zeus'

¹⁷HPAKΛΗΣ: IvP no.97.

¹⁸ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΩΝ: Kästner (1994) 125-134; Kästner (1998) pl. 25.

¹⁹Schmidt (1965) 11.

²⁰Winnefeld 52-3.

eagle; the bird's right wing is still visible. The snakes of his serpent-legs are threatening to bite the god's eagle in an effort to protect him. In contrast to the youthful bodies of Zeus' other two opponents, the snake-legged giant has a strong powerful body, rendering him a powerful adversary for the king of the gods.

Cat. no. 21: Panels 62-66 *Athena's battling group*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 4.335m

Athena's battling group is another impressive composition. There are four figures in these panels. The goddess Athena, identified by the inscriptional evidence on the cornice, is battling against a winged giant.²¹ Ge, also identified by an inscription, is on the lower part of panel 65 pleading for mercy.²² The winged figure of Nike approaches from the right to crown the goddess of war and wisdom.

Athena is advancing to the right. She leans her weight on her bent left knee, and her head turns back. She is wearing a long, sleeveless chiton with a *diploidion* fastened below her breast by a belt. In front of her chest hangs her aegis with its gorgoneion. The goddess is wearing a Korinthian helmet under which, locks of her long wavy hair have emerged. Her face is missing. In her left hand she holds a round shield and with her right she grabs her opponent by the hair. The goddess' shield is plain, decorated with four rows of concentric circles.

Her opponent (panel 63) has a completely human form but a pair of huge spread wings growing out of his back. He has long wavy hair and a quite youthful face. He has been pressed to the ground, forced to lean his weight on his right knee. With his right hand he has grasped the goddess' right arm, trying to free himself from her grip. His precarious position is quite evident as he is also being attacked by the goddess' sacred snake. The huge serpent has coiled itself around the giant's right thigh and arms and is sinking its fangs in his right breast. His mouth is wide open, his eyes bulging and his forehead is furrowed. With his out-stretched right foot he is touching the breast of his mother Ge (panel 65) while he is stretching out his left arm in a desperate effort to get hold of her.

The matronly figure of Ge is coming out of the ground in aid of her son; she has risen up to her breast above the surface of the ground. She is wearing a sleeveless chiton and her long wavy hair lies dishevelled all over her face and shoulders. Her big, wide-open eyes are looking up to the goddess who is so mercilessly destroying her child. She stretches her right hand towards Athena to evoke the goddess' pity. In her left hand she is holding a *cornucopia*. Athena's destructive force is apparent all around. To the left of Athena's opponent (panels 62-63) lies the lifeless body of an armour-clad giant; only his right arm and fragments of his corslet survive. Likewise, to the right of Earth (panel 66) lie the remains of another armour-clad giant of whom only part of his arm and armour survive.

²¹ΑΘΗΝΑ: IvP no.86.

²²ΓΗ: IvP no.91.

The composition is enriched by the addition of the flying figure of Nike who is approaching from the right (panel 65-66) to crown the figure of Athena. She is wearing a long, sleeveless chiton and a *diploidion*. Her large wings are fully-open and her feet don't touch the ground; she is alighting above the scene. Her head does not survive. Her right arm is extended towards the head of the goddess. In her hand she is holding a wreath with which she is about to crown the victorious Athena.²³

Cat. no. 22: Panels 67-69 *Ares*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 0.975m (only for panel 68. The dimensions of panels 67 and 69 have not been given)

In the last panels of the east frieze Ares arrives at the scene in his war-chariot. His person can be identified by means of the epigraphic evidence.²⁴ Little of Ares' group survives. The god's chariot is drawn by two horses, the front one rearing on its hind legs. Even less survives of Ares' figure. The god, presumably riding in his chariot, wears a Korinthian helmet which he has pushed to the back of his head allowing his short curly hair to fall on his forehead. He was probably drawing in the reins of his horses this forcing them to rear on their hind legs. Part of the bodies of dead giants lie under the hooves.

North frieze

Cat. no. 23: Panels 70-73 *Aphrodite and giants*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 2.760m

The first figure of the north frieze is that of the goddess Aphrodite. Her identity is certain from the epigraphic evidence.²⁵ She is in profile view, facing to the right of the frieze. She is wearing a calf-length, thin, sleeveless chiton and a *diploidion* fastened below her breast. Her footwear consists of a pair of beautifully decorated calf-length boots (Cat. no. 23.2). The goddess' robe has slipped from her right shoulder revealing her voluptuous body. Her beautiful head has only just recently been restored in the Berlin arrangement from a plaster cast of the original head which is in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul. Her long wavy hair has been loosely gathered at the back of her head allowing a few heavy locks to fall gracefully over her left shoulder. The goddess is armed with a shield in her left hand (a fragment of it in slab 71) and a lance in her right; the lance does not survive.²⁶ She is leaning her weight on her bent right leg while her left foot is raced against the shoulder and beside the face of the dead giant sprawled backwards on panel 71. She is about to pull her lance out of his dead body.

²³Winnefeld 56 no.16.5

²⁴APHΣ: IvP no.88.

²⁵AΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ: IvP no.90.

²⁶Heilmeyer (1997) 88 cat. no.7.

In panels 71 and 72 the youthful lifeless bodies of two giants lie, one on top of another. Aphrodite's last opponent is lying with his back over the body of the other giant; his head and right arm thrown above his head. His long curly hair hangs in heavy motionless locks. His half-open mouth and firmly shut eyes indicate that he is already dead. By his side and behind him in the field his round shield leans against his body. He is lying across the body of the second dead giant (panel 72). The latter has the top of his head and shoulders facing the spectator. He has fallen forward with his head leaning over his right arm thus preventing us from seeing his face. His heavy curly hair falls over his arm. Some kind of cloth or garment covers the abdomen of the first giant.

In panel 73 is the earth-born opponent of Dione (Cat. no. 24). He faces right away from Aphrodite and the dead giants. His youthful, slender body is decorated with a pair of snake-legs and a pair of wings grows from his back. He has raised his body on his serpent-legs and with both hands he is lifting a rock over his head which he is about to throw at Dione. His wings are wide-open, his body is slightly leaning to the left and his head is turning to the right. His eyes are fixed at the goddess in panel 74. The snake on his right leg has raised itself from behind the giant and is hissing at the small winged body of Eros who is hovering over him; only fragments of his small wings have survived.

Cat. no. 24: Panels 74-78 Dione

Height: 2.30m

Length: 4.60m

In panel 74 is the goddess Dione. Her identification has been secured by the epigraphic evidence.²⁷ She is advancing to the right of the frieze leaning on her right leg. She is wearing a long chiton with short sleeves and a *diploidion* fastened below her breast by means of a girdle tied in a knot. Her mantle has been wrapped around her waist giving the impression of a thick belt. Her head does not survive but from the position of her body (frontal, legs in profile), it seems probable that the goddess' head was turned backwards facing the opponent in panel 73. Three locks of her long wavy hair fall across her left shoulder and breast. In her badly damaged left hand she is holding the sheath of a sword. Her right arm is raised across her breast and was most probably holding the sword with which she was about to inflict a fatal blow to her assailant.

Next to Dione, in panels 75-78, a pair of male gods is fighting against a pair of giants. One of the gods (panel 75) stands facing right. With his left leg he is kneeling his opponent who has already fallen to the ground. In his left hand he holds his shield the inside of which is decorated with concentric circles and a volute motif. His right arm, raised behind him, held the now lost spear that he was about to thrust in the body of the fallen giant. The god's body and face are badly damaged. He is naked and his long mantle flows from the left wrist inside his shield.

The giant is pressed to the ground by the god's left knee. He leans his weight on that knee (panel 76) while his right leg is stretched out across panel 75. His naked body is

²⁷ΔΙΩΝΗ: IvP no.92.

fully human. In his left hand he holds his shield against which he is leaning. His head does not survive but it might be probable to assume that his gaze was directed at his foe who was about to kill him. His right arm, cut off at the shoulder, does not survive.

In the following battling group the roles of the vanquished and the vanquisher have been reversed. This is the second instance in the frieze where a god's life seems threatened by a giant (cf. Cat. no. 7, panel 17). Here, however, the god is evidently in more distress. He has been seized from behind by a ferociously looking serpent-legged giant. The latter has long, thick and wavy hair and a bushy beard. He has a frowning forehead, wide-open nostrils and deep-set eyes. The giant has wrapped his arms around the god's waist, at the same time sinking his teeth in the god's left upper-arm. The god has slipped his legs around the giant's serpent-legs. The heads of the giant's snake-legs rise to the height of the god's face threatening to attack him. His own head does not survive; his arms are stretched wide. In his right hand he holds an object yet to be identified with certainty, while in his left he holds an object identified as a miniature shield.

Behind this battling group and in the foreground lie the remains of a dead giant; only his left arm holding a shield survives. On the right side of panel 78 are the remains of a male figure who stands facing right. He has a lion pelt over his shoulders and his long, shaggy hair falls over his neck. With both hands raised above his head he holds a club-like weapon which he is about to thrust at his opponent in panel 80.

Cat. no. 25: Panels 79-82

Height: 2.30m

Length: 3.205m

In panel 80 are the remains of a nude male figure with his back turned to the spectator. He is standing, with his weight firmly placed on both legs. His head is turned to the left in the direction of the male figure in panel 78. Some kind of animal-skin is passed over his left shoulder. His upper torso leans slightly to the right. Both of his arms are broken off at the shoulders. Between his feet is a *Tiara-type* helmet that probably belonged to a dead giant who originally lay in the foreground in panels 78-79 (Cat. no. 25.2-3). In 1972 Haynes successfully reconstructed on the foreground of panels 78-79 the fragment of a torso previously belonging to the Arundel collection.²⁸ It depicts the head and naked torso of a bearded male. He is lying with his weight placed on his shoulders. His long hair is spread across the ground-line. His body is turned to the right and his hands spread on either side: in his left he still holds his shield but his fingers hang lifelessly from the handle. His forehead is frowning and his lips are half open. Across the figure's abdomen are traces of the left leg of the figure that stands above him in panel 78-79.

To the right of the male figure in panel 80, there is a battling group consisting of a winged female deity and a serpent-legged giant (panels 81-82). The female deity approaches from the right. She is in semi-profile view, facing left and wears a long, calf-length, sleeveless chiton. She wears beautifully decorated long boots. Her wings seem just

²⁸D. Haynes, "Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin 1971/2" *AA* (1972) 737-742.

about to close as though she has just alighted at the scene. With her right foot she is stepping on the giant's left serpent-leg thus forcing him to remain still. With her left hand she grabs him by his long hair, pulling his head backwards. Her right hand is raised above his head, about to thrust a sword (now missing), into his chest. He has been rendered immobile by the goddess' grip and firm step. The snake of his right serpent-leg raises itself to defend his human part but seems too far away to actually pose any threat to the goddess. On the right hand-side of panel 82 are the remains of the snake from the giant's left serpent-leg which rises to attack the goddess from behind. The giant's thighs have gills instead of scales. He has a bearded face with a wide-open mouth, frowning forehead and deep-set eyes.

Cat. no. 26: Panels 83-86

Height: 2.30m

Length: 3.865m

In panels 83-84 is a further battling group. The standing male god in panel 83 is shown with his body frontal and his head probably looking right in the direction of his opponent. He rests his weight on bent right leg; the left is out-stretched. In his left hand he holds a shield; his right is extended behind him and probably held the sword with which he is about to strike the giant. The god wears a short, split on the right, chiton. The sheath of his sword hangs on his left side with a leather band that crosses over his chest from his right shoulder. He is also wearing a mantle, fragments of which are still visible under his right arm. His shield is decorated with concentric circles and a small *anthemion* motif. Opposite him is his giant opponent. He has his back turned to the spectator. He has his legs wide apart, resting his weight on his right leg while the left is on tip-toes. His head does not survive. He wears a short chiton with short-sleeves and over it a corslet. His corslet is carefully shaped to fit his torso, outlining the strong musculature on his back. It covers the stomach and lower back and ends in a mass of leather *pteryges*. With his right hand he is holding a spear which he is about to throw at his opponent; his index and middle finger are still seen wrapped around the leather throwing-thong. With his left hand he is holding a shield which bears on its rim a band decorated with thunderbolts and stars.

Between the two opponents and in the foreground is the figure of a wounded or dying giant. He sits on the ground, resting his weight on his left hand, and faces left. His right leg is slightly bent while the left (now broken off at the thigh) seems originally to have extended across panel 82. He is completely human in form and seems to be quite young. His face is quite badly damaged. He has long wavy hair which falls in shaggy locks over his neck and shoulders and his head droops forwards. He seems quite weak as he tries to hold on to the god's right thigh.

In panels 85-86 a beautiful goddess fights a bearded giant. She advances right, her body frontal and her face, fixed on that of her opponent, in profile. Her weight rests on her advanced, slightly bent, left leg while her right is trailing. She wears an ankle-length, sleeveless chiton and a *diploidion* fastened below her breast by means of a belt. Her long,

heavy mantle is thrown across her body and over her left shoulder. Her chiton has a horizontal stripe as border decoration. On the wrist of her extended left hand she wears a bracelet ending in two snake-heads. A similar bracelet was probably worn in her right wrist as well; a small fragment of it is still visible. With her left hand she grabs the rim of her opponent's shield. In her right, which is extended behind her, she holds a jar around which a serpent is entwined; this she is about to hurl at her opponent. On her feet she wears *krepides*.

Her long wavy hair is held in a loose bun at the back of her head by means of a thin fillet. Small locks of curly hair decorate the side of her face and neck. From the top of her head and at the back falls a small veil. From the back of her head on either side hang two strings of beads. At the end of the better preserved (on panel 86) hangs a flower in bloom.

Her opponent has already fallen on the ground, resting his weight on his right knee. His left leg stretches across panel 85. He has a human form. In his left hand he carries a shield which he holds in front of his body for protection. With his right hand on the ground he tries to keep himself from falling. Hardly anything survives of his face. He has a beard and a frowning forehead. On his head he is wearing a pseudo-Attic helmet. Above his head are the remains of a coiled serpent belonging to the missing group of the next panel (87). In the bottom right corner of panel 86 the lower left leg of a female deity, wearing a boot decorated with spirals and palmettes.

Cat. no. 27: Panels 87-90

Height: 2.30m

Length: 3.745m

In panel 87 are the remains of a young goddess; only her upper torso and part of her face survive. She wears a sleeveless chiton. Her mantle is fastened around her waist and a quiver hangs behind her back. Her body is turned to the left but her face to the right towards the battle taking place in panels 88-90. Behind her head one can see the remains of a lance. The twist of her body suggests that she leans her weight on her right leg. The fragment of her right boot, decorated with spirals and palmettes, is restored in the right corner of panel 87 (Cat. no. 26.1).

In panels 88-89 a female deity battles a serpent-legged giant. The goddess advances right, leaning her weight on her bent left leg. She wears a long, sleeveless chiton and a *diploidion*. Her mantle is passed around her waist; the ends of it can be seen flowing behind her back. She has long, thick, curly hair that is kept off her face by means of a fillet. With her right hand she grabs her opponent by the hair; her left hand is raised, about to strike him with what was probably a sword or some kind of weapon (now lost). Her opponent is forced to the ground by the impetus of her charge. His thighs have rows of gills above the scales. He leans on his left snake-leg and tries to free himself from the deity's grip with his left hand. With his right he has grasped the goddess' attacking right arm. The snake from his right leg has raised itself behind the goddess and is about to

attack her from behind. He has a half-open mouth, a frowning forehead, raised eyebrows and deep-set eyes. His hair and beard are curly.

The following battling group consists again of a female deity and a giant. She is in profile, advancing to the left. She wears a long, calf-length chiton fastened below her breast by a wide belt. Her mantle is wrapped around her body. Her footwear consists of a pair of strapped boots decorated with volutes. She has long and rich curly hair that falls in masses over her shoulders and back. Unfortunately her face does not survive. With her left foot she steps on the right hip of her opponent, her right raised arm about to strike him dead. Her young opponent, completely human in form, has already been forced to the ground. He has fallen on his side, his weight resting on his left hip and leg. His legs sprawl across panel 89, the right covering the left leg. He keeps himself from complete collapse by placing his left hand on the ground for support. His right hand is raised in front of his face as he grabs at the goddess' weapon, trying to stop it from entering his body. From the position of her hand and the giant's defensive gesture, it is probable that the goddess was holding a spear which she was about to thrust in his body. His head is slightly tilted to the left and his mouth half-open. His thick, curly hair form massive locks surrounding his youthful face.

Cat. no. 28: Panels 92-94

Height: 2.30m

Length: 2.01m (panels 93-94)

In panels 92-94 is a battling group consisting of a female deity, two giants and a lion. The goddess in panel 94 advances to the right. She is in profile, resting her weight on her right leg with her left elegantly bent. She wears a long-sleeved chiton and is wrapped up in her mantle. On her feet she wears *krepides*. Her long curly hair falls in thick masses over her back and is neatly held off her face by a fillet at the back of her head. With her left hand she holds her mantle close to her body and her raised right hand holds a spear which she is about to throw at the opponent standing before her.

He is a winged, serpent-legged giant, shown in frontal view but with his lower body concealed by a second giant kneeling in the foreground. In the ardour of the battle he has his large wings spread out and the snakes on his serpent-legs are hissing in the air. With his raised right hand wrapped in an animal-skin he grasps the goddess' lance, attempting to prevent it entering his head. In front of him and in the foreground of panel 93, a gruesome attack is taking place. The goddess' lion attacks a human-bodied giant from behind. The giant is forced into a kneeling position by the impact of the beast's attack. His weight rests on his bent right leg while the left sprawls across panel 94. Only a small fragment of his face survives suggesting that he had a beard. He bends his body sideways and to the left as the beast attacks him from the right. The lion sinks its claws into his left shoulder and thigh, and its ferocious teeth into his left arm.

Cat. no. 29: Panels 95-98 *Poseidon's group*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 2.37m (panels 95, 97-8; panel's 96 dimensions have not been given)

Poseidon was the last god on the north frieze. Scarcely anything has survived of Poseidon's figure and only the inscription on the cornice testifies to the god's place and identity.²⁹ On the top part of panel 98 (behind the scaffolding) part of the god's trident can still be seen. The god is charging into battle on a chariot drawn by sea-horses; fragments of only two of them survive. Their bodies are covered in fish-scales and fins. In front of the sea-horses and in the foreground are the remains of sea-creatures and fish. On the foreground of panel 95 a huge *ketos* is swimming to the right towards the god's chariot with its mouth wide-open; part of its fish-tail can be seen in panel 95 entwined with the tail of the lion whose head is in panel 93. The *ketos* is probably coming to the aid of the god by attacking the giant from beneath. In front of the god's chariot a fragment of his opponent's animal-skin survives. In panel 95 is a fragment of the giant's upper torso. He advances right. His legs are broken at the top of his thighs. He has his right hand wrapped in an animal-skin and raised in front of him. It seems that he was trying to stop the god's chariot by getting hold of the sea-horses' bridle.

North/west front

Cat. no.30: Panels 99-104 *Triton and Amphitrite*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 5.170m

Triton dashes into battle from the right corner of the scene. His identity is clear from the inscription on the cornice.³⁰ He has a human torso but his lower parts are part horse and part fish. On his back he has a pair of wide-open wings which have fins in place of feathers. His face does not survive but it is possible to see that he had long wavy hair. In his right hand he was holding a sword (now missing) with his raised left hand he grabs his opponent by the left arm. He has already overcome a giant who is kneeling on the ground behind him; his bent right leg is clearly visible. Another young giant has been forced to the ground in front of Triton under the impact of his charge. The giant is completely human in form. His weight rests on his left knee while his right leg extends across panels 99-100. With his left hand on the ground he keeps himself from falling; with his raised right he is about to strike the god with his sword (the handle is still preserved) He has long, wavy hair. Triton's third opponent charges against him from the right; right leg forward. He is human in form and has a lion-skin wrapped around his extended left

²⁹ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ: IvP no.103.

³⁰ΤΡΙΤΩΝ: IvP no.104.

arm. He is about to attack the god with something held in his right hand (now missing). His head is badly preserved and his right arm missing.

Amphitrite, Triton's mother, fights another giant.³¹ She charges at him from the right corner of the frieze, right foot advancing, left foot just about to come off the ground. She wears a long chiton and a *diploidion*. Her mantle is passes around her left shoulder and across her body. Her right arm is raised about to strike the fallen giant with a spear. Her head does not survive. Her footwear consists of a pair of *krepides*. Her serpent-legged opponent is forced to the ground. His badly preserved figure does not leave much to comment on. He has long curly hair and his gaze is directed to the goddess above him. For the size of his body he has unusually long serpent-legs which raise themselves behind the goddess. His young body leans to the left defensively. His left arm was probably raised between him and Amphitrite while in his badly preserved right he probably held some sort of weapon.

North/west staircase

Cat. no. 31: Panels 105-108 *Nereus - Okeanos*

Height: 2.30m

Length: 4.185

In the left corner of the frieze stands Nereus identified by the inscription on the cornice.³² He is wearing a long sleeveless chiton that reaches all the way to the ground. An overhanging garment is fastened over his right shoulder by means of a brooch. He has long wavy hair and a bushy beard. He looks right at the action taking place before him. His boots and his head-cover are made of fish-skin. With his left hand he holds the edge of his chiton. He has a half-open mouth and a slightly frowning forehead.

In front of him stands a goddess whose proximity to Nereus suggests that she is his wife Doris.³³ She faces right, wearing a short calf-length, short-sleeved chiton and a *diploidion* fastened below her breast by a belt. Her short and thin mantle flows under her left arm. Her footwear consists of a pair of boots (Cat. no. 31.a) made out of fish-skin like those of Nereus. With her left leg she steps on the right serpent-leg of her opponent. Her left hand grasps a tuft of his hair and her right is about to strike a fatal blow at him with her sword. Her opponent has a youthful face and short curly hair. His serpent-legs are covered with fins. His back is turned to the goddess and his head leans backwards as Doris tugs his hair. With his left hand he has seized her left and is trying to release himself from her grip. His right grabs Doris at the back of her knee. His right snake-leg is trampled by her left foot; his left seems to have coiled itself at the feet of Okeanos, unable to raise any kind of defence.

³¹AMΦITPITH: IvP no.87.

³²NHPE[Y]Σ: IvP no.87a.

³³See Table 3.

Okeanos stands to the right (panel 107) of Doris' opponent.³⁴ He wears an *exomis* and a split on the right chiton. His mantle is flowing behind his right shoulder. His weight rests on his bent right leg and his body tilts slightly backwards. His right arm (missing from above the elbow) is extended behind him (onto panel 106); he is about to throw a spear at his opponent. His left hand (missing below the elbow) is slightly raised to give him balance. His opponent is completely human in form and is shown hastening up the stairs on which his left knee rests. His left hand rests on the rocky ground to support him from falling. In his right hand he held his round shield but he has lost it in the ardour of the battle; it can be seen fallen at the feet of Okeanos. His head and right hand do not survive. A female goddess once stood before the god; fragments of her chiton and her right hand holding a shell-like weapon have survived. The last figure on the scene is the figure of a serpent-legged giant. His body is badly preserved but one can still see traces of fins on his thighs. He is sitting on the stairs and has his back turned to the spectator. In his raised left hand he holds his round shield which he has placed before him to defend himself from Zeus' eagle which is attacking him from the left. The scene is familiar; for it resembles the first panel (Cat. no. 1) where a serpent-legged giant was attacked by Zeus' eagle.

TELEPHOS FRIEZE

The panel numbers are those proposed by Robert.³⁵ The panel sequence follows the latest (1997) Berlin Museum reconstruction.³⁶ The dimensions of the individual panels are taken from the Berlin Museum's inventory. The dimensions of recently reconstructed panels (13, 32, 33, 24, 30, and 49) have not as yet been provided and are therefore approximate.

North wall

Cat. no. 32: Panel 2

Height: 1.23m

Length: 0.82m

This is a corner slab as it is bevelled on the left hand side. On the panel's right-hand side is the left leg of the seated queen Neiaira (panel 3, Cat. no. 33). In front of her stand two figures. The one on the right is a male and is wearing a short *chiton* with a *himation*, tied by a belt around his waist and a *chlamys* tied over his

³⁴ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ: IvP no.105. Even though the mason's marks, placing the inscription above the figure of the god, have not survived it is fairly certain (from Nereus' iconography) that the inscription belongs here (Winnefeld 126, 139).

³⁵C. Robert, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des pergamenischen Telephos-Frieses" *Jdl* 2 (1887) 244-259; 3 (1888) 45-65, 87-105.

³⁶Heres (1997) 99-120.

right shoulder. He is standing, resting his weight on his left leg; right leg relaxed. In front of him are the traces of another, unidentified, figure.

Cat. no. 33: Panel 3

Height: 1.45m

Length: 0.825m

This slab forms part of two different scenes separated from one another by the use of a pillar set between the figure of Neiaira on the left and the figure of Herakles standing on the right. Queen Neiaira is seating on a throne. Her feet are placed on a footstool (Cat. no. 32). She is wearing a long garment and in her right hand she is holding the edge of her mantle which is passed over her head. She is uncovering her face towards Herakles (probably depicted in the now missing preceding panel) in a polite manner suggesting a welcoming gesture.

Above Neiaira's head are traces of, what seems to have been, a curtain indicating that the scene was taking place indoors (Cat. no. 33.2). The queen is seated on a cushion. Her head is tilted forwards and her gaze is directed to the welcoming scene taking place before her. The pillar behind the queen separates her from Herakles and the following scene.

Herakles has his lion pelt tied around his neck and with his left hand is resting his club on his left shoulder. According to Schraudolph the two dowel holes on the chest of Herakles were used to attach one end of the lion skin's knot on his chest.³⁷ The hero is resting his weight on his right leg; left leg relaxed. The oak tree in front of Herakles indicates that the scene is taking place outdoors. Its thick foliage is enriched with acorns and small birds (traces of one are still visible). A dowel hole probably indicates the position of a, now-missing, bird.³⁸

Cat. no. 34: Panel 4

Height: 0.825m

Length: 0.78m

Two figures are standing in the centre of this badly preserved panel; the one on the right seems to be a female. The scene is taking place outdoors as they are standing under a plane tree. The female has her right arm enveloped in a mantle. They are both wearing chitons and are looking to the right.

Cat. no. 35: Panels 5-6

Height: 1.45m and 1.45m respectively

Length: 0.765m and 0.75m

These two panels belong to one single theme: the building of Auge's boat. Four workmen are working on a shell-like boat. On the left hand side of panel 5, a

³⁷Schraudolph (1996) 54.

³⁸ibid. 54.

man is standing. He is wearing a long chiton fastened by a belt around his waist. His mantle is wrapped around his body. His chest is crossed by two bands. He is overseeing the building of the boat.

On panel 5, the workman kneeling is wearing a short-sleeved chiton. He is holding a saw in his right hand while using his left to hold onto the boat's rim. The workman standing over him is wearing a short *exomis* and is working with a drill. Both workmen in panel 6 are standing. The left one is wearing a short chiton with short sleeves and is working with a plane. The figure on the right is wearing an *exomis* and is holding a hammer in his raised right hand.

On the upper level of the panels, Auge is seating on a rock. She is accompanied by two maidservants. Auge is wrapped in her long chiton and mantle. Her head is tilted forwards. With her left hand she is holding the edge of her mantle. Her two maid-servants are smaller in scale than the other figures. The one closer to Auge is holding a jewellery box. Her body is slightly turning to the other maid who seems to be taking out or putting something in the box. Unfortunately her action can only be guessed as her hands do not survive. The maid on the left is wearing a long, short-sleeved chiton and the one on the right a sleeveless one. A belt is fastened under their breasts. Their long hair falls in curly locks over their back and shoulders. The boat's inner shell and the workmen's bodies are left unsmoothed.

Cat. no. 36: Panel 10

Height: 1.58m

Length: 0.835m

Five male figures are hurrying to the left towards, a now-missing, panel. The figures have been identified as Mysians from the type of boots (*embades* with *piloi*) they are wearing (Cat. no. 36.2). The central figure is taller than the others. He is a quite majestic and regal figure; his social status is indicated by the taenia around his head (Cat. no. 36.3). He has been identified as the Mysian king Teuthras. He is wearing a long-sleeved chiton (characteristic of Asian Greeks) with a, waist-length, over-garment tied by a belt under his chest. His mantle is tied with a brooch over his right shoulder. He has a short, well-groomed, beard and his long curly hair falls in heavy locks over his forehead and shoulders (Cat. no. 36.3).

The figure next to him (on the left) is depicted frontally (Cat. no. 36.1). He is wearing similar clothes without the short over-garment. His face is not preserved but from his position and the outline of his head, he seems to be talking to king Teuthras. The figure on the left hand side of the panel is only half presented; the rest was in the previous (now lost) panel. He is probably also wearing a long-sleeved chiton and is advancing to the left.

Behind Teuthras and in the background, is another male depicted frontally. Only his face is executed; his body is overlapped by that of the king. He is looking

out of the frieze, to the right in relation to the spectator (Cat. no. 36.3). He does not seem to be moving like the others.

The last figure in the panel is wearing a short, knee-length, chiton with short sleeves, and a belt tied around his waist. His mantle is tied over his right shoulder with a brooch. His head and hands do not survive. Schraudolph suggested that he was holding a parasol over the king's head.³⁹

Cat. no. 37: Panel 11

Height: 1.58m

Length: 0.97m

There are four female figures in this panel. The central figure is taller than the other three. The attention of the scene seems to be focused on her actions. She is wearing a long chiton, fastened by a belt under her chest. Her right shoulder is bare and her mantle falls gracefully over her shoulders and arms. She has been identified as Auge. With both hands she is holding a fillet and her gaze is directed to the object that the figure on the left is probably handing out to her (Cat. no. 37.2). All four women are dressed in a similar fashion. However, each one has a different hair-do (Cat. no. 37.3).

The figure bending in the foreground is stepping with her right foot on the base of a cult-statue (Cat. no. 37.1). With both hands she is holding the edges of a long cloth or drapery, which she is placing or fixing over the feet of the cult-statue. The figure standing next to her, in the background, is also busying herself with the cult-statue. Her action cannot be clearly determined as this side of the panel is very badly preserved.

Above their heads and in the right hand corner of the panel is a square block with unfinished surface. On its right hand corner are the leaves of a plane tree which separates this scene from the next one.

Cat. no. 38: Panel 12

Height: 1.08m

Length: 0.74m

In the shade of the plane tree stands the figure of Herakles. He is resting his weight on his club from which his lion pelt is hanging. His left leg is crossed over his right in repose and his right arm is lifted. However, his action cannot be determined as his hand does not survive. In front of him, in the foreground, a lioness is depicted suckling the baby Telephos in a cave formed by the rocky background.

³⁹ibid. 58.

The beast is lifting its hind leg to allow the baby come closer to its udders. Telephos is pressing both hands against the beast's body, sucking milk out of its breast. The lioness' left hind-leg was lost before World War II.⁴⁰

Cat. no. 39: Panel 7

Height: 0.46m

Length: 0.34m

This female figure probably forms part of one single theme depicted on panels 7 and 8; the bathing of baby Telephos by nymphs. She is crouching to the right opposite the crouching nymph on the adjoining panel 8 (Cat. no. 40). She is nude and has her mantle wrapped around her waist.

Cat. no. 40: Panel 8

Height: 1.50m

Length: 0.69m

This panel is a corner slab as its bevelled right edge indicates. The most prominent figure is the seated female on the top right-hand corner. She is larger in scale to the other figures. She is wearing a long chiton fastened under her chest by a thin belt. Her mantle, passed over her head, rests across her lap. She is sitting on a rock with her body turned to the left. Her right hand, broken below the elbow, was probably resting across her lap. Her left hand is placed on the ground beside her.

In the foreground of panel 8 (Cat. no. 40.2) is the kneeling figure of a girl. She is wearing a long, short-sleeved chiton, fastened by a belt under her chest. She has long hair, loosely coiled at the nape of the neck. One long lock of hair is falling on her shoulders. She is kneeling in front of a, badly damaged, tripod cauldron, kindling a fire for warming water.

East wall

Cat. no. 41: Panel 9

Height: 0.80m

Length: 0.67m

This panel is a corner slab, mitered on the left-hand side. A fragment of a male torso survives, standing in a mountainous area. His slender and youthful body suggests that the person depicted was relatively young.

⁴⁰ibid. 60.

Cat. no. 42: Panels 13-32-33-14

Height: 0.39m, 1.10m, 0.86m, 0.94m respectively

Length: 0.38m, 0.33m, 0.54m, 0.315m

These four, fragmentary, panels have been reconstructed together as parts of one scene: Telephos' trip to Mysia. In panel 13 (Cat. no. 42.1), traces of two male figures and part of Telephos' boat have survived. One of the male figures is standing. He is nude from the waist up and has a mantle tied around his waist. His body is turned to the right. His head and arms do not survive. From the other figure, only the head and neck survive. He is crouching on the ground with his body turned to the left.

Fragments of the ship are represented in the other three panels (Cat. nos. 42.2-3). It is tied to the shore with thick, plaited ropes; two of which can be seen in panel 33 (Cat. no. 42.2). In panel 32 a naked male is embarking on the ship by a side ladder; one step of it still survives at the lower end of the panel's right-hand side (Cat. no. 42.4). He is standing in an open stride, with his right foot on the ladder's step and his left foot just about to come off the ground. He is wearing a leather belt across his chest (Cat. no. 42.5). His forehead is furrowed and is looking up at his companion who is standing on the deck of the ship. His arms are cut off right below the shoulder but they seem to have been raised in front of him.

Of the figure on board only his right leg survives (panel 33, Cat. no. 42.2). He is turned towards his embarking companion. His leg is slightly bent and he is wearing a short, knee-length, chiton. From the raised hands and the frowning expression of the figure on the ladder and the bending position of the figure on board, it might be possible to suggest that the former was carrying a heavy load taken off his hands by the latter.

In panel 14 (Cat. no. 42.3) is a, lavishly decorated, fragment of the prow of the ship. The bottom register consists of a "wave-like" motif. Over it is a band with the wings of a bird. Then follow two rows decorated with a *lesbian cymation* and *dentil* motif. A wider band with an elaborate ornamentation of concentric oval rings and above that a slender row of an *egg-and-dart* pattern.⁴¹

Cat. no. 43: Panel 16

Height: 1.17m

Length: 0.95m

Five male figures are represented in this panel. The panel forms part of two different scenes. The two figures on the left edge of the block have their backs turned to the other three, and are separated from them by a pillar (not visible from the photos). They are both wearing a short, long-sleeved chiton. The second male from the left is wearing a Phrygian cap. Their footwear (Cat. no. 43.2) resembles

⁴¹These architectural motifs can also be seen on the cornice of the architrave of the monument's sacrificial altar (Fig. 5).

the *embades* with *piloi* worn by king Teuthras and his retinue in panel 10 (Cat. no. 36.2). Their mantles are tied over their shoulders and thrown over their backs. They are advancing to the left towards a (now missing) scene.

The other three figures form part of a different scene. The first figure from the left is wearing a short, knee-length, chiton with short sleeves. He wears a belt and has his *chlamys* thrown over his back. He has a *pseudo-Attic* helmet, its visor decorated with a delicate volute. His right hand is raised in front of him. He is leaning his weight on his right leg; left leg relaxed. He has short (calf-length) plain boots, with bands around the top to fasten them to place. At the back they have a protruding tab (Cat. no. 43.2).

The figure standing next to him is frontal. He is dressed in a similar fashion to his companion. He is leaning his spear against his left shoulder with his left hand. In his right hand he was holding a, now-broken, sword; traces of its handle are still visible in his palm. His attention is directed to his helmeted companion who seems to be talking to him. He has short curly hair. The third figure is Telephos. He is standing with legs wide open; left leg advancing. He is wearing a short-sleeved chiton and over it a leather or metal muscle cuirass covering the navel and belly (Cat. no. 43.3). It is fastened over the shoulders with flaps decorated at the lower ends with rosettes. His belt is tied in a bow. A series of metal or leather flaps (*pteryges*) are hanging down from the lower end of the inner side of the thorax.⁴² Telephos' head and arms do not survive.

Cat. no. 44: Panel 17

Height: 0.94m

Length: 1.055m

This panel contains three figures; two female and a male. The two female figures are turned towards the figure of Telephos in panel 16, whereas the male figure has his back to them, facing right. The first female from the left is facing Telephos in panel 18. She is, in all likelihood, his mother Auge handing over to him his shield. She is wearing a long chiton and is moving towards Telephos, right leg advancing, left bent at the knee.

Behind Auge is the smaller figure of a maid-servant. She is wearing a long chiton fastened by a belt under her breast. Her left shoulder is exposed. Her mantle is tied around her waist.. She is smaller in scale to Auge. She is carrying a spear in her right hand and in her left, a *konos* helmet with three crests decorated with a plume of horsehair. She is leaning the weight of her body on her left leg; right leg relaxed.

Behind the figure of the maid-servant is a male figure equally small in scale. He has his back turned to her and is advancing to the right. He forms part of the following scene. He is wearing a short chiton with short sleeves, tied around his

⁴²On pieces of armour see Snodgrass 90-92.

waist by a belt, and a chlamys over his shoulders. His footwear consists of a pair of short, calf-length, boots; only the upper part survives. He is carrying a spear in his left hand (Cat. no. 45.1).

Cat. no. 45: Panel 18

Height: 1.16m

Length: 0.72m

There are two male figures in this panel; the fully-armed Telephos and another. Telephos is wearing his helmet and holding his shield in his left hand. His right arm is cut off just below the shoulder. He is standing in repose, with his weight resting on his left leg; right leg relaxed. His mantle is passed over his left shoulder and around his hand. He is facing the man opposite him.

The male figure standing opposite Telephos is resting his weight on his right leg; left leg relaxed. He is wearing a short chiton, a mantle and similar boots to the figure in panel 10 (Cat. no. 36.2). His right hand does not survive. His left hand is extended towards Telephos. His head is badly preserved. Small weights are attached to the corners of their mantles, keeping the folds of the garment straight.

Cat. no. 46: Panel 20

Height: 1.29m

Length: 0.97m

Two figures, one male and one female, are in this panel. They are facing to the left and a, now lost, panel. The figures belong to Auge and Teuthras and the scene is that of Auge's marriage to Telephos.

Auge is wearing a long chiton and a mantle passed over her head. With her right hand she is holding the edge of her mantle. Her long hair falls gracefully over her shoulders in wavy locks. She is resting her weight on her right leg; left leg slightly bend.

In front of Auge there is a small cult-statue of Athena placed on a high base. Behind Auge stands the tall and majestic figure of Teuthras. He is wearing a short chiton with short sleeves, and a chlamys tied over his right shoulder with a brooch. He has a beard and is wearing a taenia (a sign of royalty) in his long curly hair. He is wearing the same short boots he was wearing in panel 10 (Cat. nos. 36.2). In his left hand he is holding a small sceptre and with his right he is leading Auge to Telephos by her left arm. He is resting his weight on his right leg; left leg relaxed.

There is a pillar behind Teuthras, separating this scene from the following one (Cat. no. 46.2): the recognition of mother and son in the wedding chamber. The lower part of the pillar is overlapped by one of the wedding-bed's legs. The leg is decorated with volutes and floral designs. A mattress, covered with bed-linen, is resting on the bed.

Cat. no. 47: Panel 21

Height: 0.92m

Length: 0.715m

This panel is very badly preserved. The action is taking place inside the wedding chamber. Traces of a curtain, coming across from the top of the right corner of the slab to the left hand side, are still visible. The outline of a figure is distinguishable on the left hand side of the slab. On the right edge of the panel the outline of a gigantic snake indicates that this is the recognition scene.

Cat. no. 48: Panel 22

Height: 0.985m

Length: 0.55m

The figure of a Greek warrior is depicted in this panel. He is wearing a thorax with pteryges, simpler and less decorated to the one worn by Telephos in panel 18 (Cat. no. 45.2). He is wearing a Greek helmet and is leaning backwards and to his right, resting his weight on his bent right leg. His gaze is directed at the figure on the horse in panel 23 (Cat. no. 49). Both his arms are missing from the shoulders.

Cat. no. 49: Panels 23-24

Height: 0.80m, 0.80m respectively

Length: 0.92m, 0.51m

From panel 23 only a fragment of the upper part survives. It depicted a figure (Hiera ?) mounted on a horse wielding a battle axe. On one side, the axe has a curved blade and on the other a hook ending in an animal's head. In panel 24 are the remains of a Greek warrior (Nireas ?). With his left hand he is holding the reins of the horse. He is naked but has on his head a crested helmet decorated with a plume of horsehair. His mantle is thrown over his left arm. In his right hand he is holding a sword and is about attack the mounted figure.

Cat. no. 50: Panel 51

Height: 1.07m

Length: 0.97m

This scene was separated from the previous scene by the use of a pillar traces of which we can still see between the legs of the two standing male figures (Cat. no. 50.2). They are both wearing a short chiton, tied around their waist by a belt, and a chlamys fastened over their right shoulder by a brooch. The figure on the right has short curly hair. The left figure is wearing short, calf-length *krepides*; only left leg survives. The other is wearing a type of boots with criss-crossing laces over the foot and an excess tongue of leather hanging from the front. The upper part of the boot is decorated with a band of arches.

The figure on the left is standing right behind the bier, carrying in his hands what seems to be a box. The other is standing next to the funerary bed, looking at the deceased. Only a small part of the dead person's head survives. It is resting on a large cushion. Long wavy locks of hair suggest that the dead person was either a youth or a woman. The leg of the bier is of a common Hellenistic type.

Cat. no. 51: Panel 25

Height: 0.84m

Length: 0.935m

Two dead Scythians, lying on their backs, over a dead horse are depicted in this panel. They are both wearing cuirasses and the one on the right is still holding his shield with his left hand. They have short wavy hair. On the left edge of the panel are the remains of a figure wearing a cloak. He is stepping on the flanks of the dead horse and is grabbing one of the dead Scythians by the right arm. On the right edge of the panel are the remains of another figure. Only his right hand survives pulling a quiver from under one of the dead Scythians.

Cat. no. 52: Panel 28

Height: 0.84m

Length: 0.80m

On the right side of the panel a naked warrior is standing in an open stride. Only part of his lower torso survives. He is attacking another naked warrior on the left side of the panel. The latter, mantle across his left thigh, is falling backwards over the remains of a dead warrior.

The dead youth is lying on his front, his head facing the spectator. Only his helmeted head and part of his right shoulder survive. He is wearing a short-sleeved chiton and a *pseudo-Korinthian* helmet decorated with a plume of horsehair. His head is resting against a round shield.

Cat. no. 53: Panel 29

Height: 0.51m

Length: 0.735m

This extremely fragmentary panel depicts the remains of a figure's flowing chlamys, and the outline of a reclining figure's right leg. Weights are attached on the corner of the figure's chlamys.

Cat. no. 54: Panel 30

Height: 0.85 (excluding Telephos' head)

Length: 0.84m

This panel depicts the wounding of Telephos by the spear of Achilles. Telephos is standing naked, on the left hand-side of the panel looking to the right. He is wearing a *Korinthian* helmet which is pushed back to allow the hero's short curly hair to fall onto his forehead (Cat. no. 54.3). His mouth is half open. He has a beard and a strong muscular body. In his left hand he is holding a shield, the inside of which is decorated with a floral motif (Cat. no. 54.2).

Achilles is standing opposite him. His figure is badly preserved (Cat. no. 54.2). He has his back turned to the spectator. With his right hand he is holding a spear, the tip of which is just about to penetrate Telephos' left thigh. Achilles' left hand does not survive. Traces of vine leaves are seen between the two heroes.

Cat. no. 55: Panel 31

Height: 0.69m

Length: 0.37m

In panel 31 is the figure of Dionysos facing to the left at the contest between Telephos and Achilles. His figure is smaller in scale than the others. He is wearing a chiton fastened under his chest by a belt (Cat. no. 55.2). Over his chiton is a panther's skin similar to the one he wears on the Gigantomachy frieze (Cat. no. 4). The paws are tied in a knot over his left shoulder. The animal's pelt is secured against the god's body by means of a second belt. His long hair, falling gracefully over his shoulders, is loosely held back by means of a narrow fillet (Cat. no. 55.2). His hair is decorated with ivy-leaves and corymbs.

Cat. no. 56: Panel 1

Height: 1.45m

Length: 0.70m

In this panel Telephos is receiving the oracle of Lykian Apollo about his cure. He is standing facing left towards the statue of the god standing before him. He is wearing a long-sleeved chiton. He is enveloped in a mantle, the edge of which he is holding with his left hand. He has long wavy hair and a thick beard. His mouth is firmly shut and his gaze is directed to the cult statue of the god. On his hair he is wearing the royal fillet designating his status as a king (Cat. no. 56.2). In his raised right hand he is holding a bunch of laurel leaves.

In the foreground a male figure is crouching; left knee on the ground. He is wearing a short chiton fastened around his waist by a belt. His chlamys is thrown over his back. He is raising his right hand before him and seems to be writing something on a, now missing, object (Cat. no. 56.3).

Only the feet survive from the god's statuette. He is standing on a column-shaped pedestal which is resting on a pillar.

Cat. no. 57: Panels 34-35

Height: 1.58m, 0.61m respectively

Length: 0.94m, 0.67m

These two slabs are the last panels of the east wall; panel 35 being the corner slab. In panel 34 is the stern of a ship. A male figure has just disembarked the ship and is standing at the left edge of the panel. He is wearing a short chiton and holding an axe in his right hand. Another male figure is also disembarking. He is laying his hand on the left arm of the man who is already standing ashore. A third man on board the ship, is about to descend. On his back he is carrying a heavy load wrapped in an animal's skin.

At the right edge of the corner-slab 35 (Cat. no. 57.2) is the outline of another figure. Only a fragment of his upper torso survives; arms are missing. He is leaning his body to the left. It has been suggested that he is taking down the sails of the ship.⁴³

South Wall

Cat. no. 58: Panel 36

Height: 1.26m

Length: 0.51m

Panel 36 is a corner slab; bevelled on the left side (Cat. no. 58). Two standing male figures and traces of a third one (right edge) are depicted. The first figure on the left is wearing a short chiton and a chlamys. He is resting his weight on his right leg; left leg relaxed. In his left hand he is holding a shield; the right hand does not survive. The second figure from the left is depicted in the background. He is standing frontally, head turned to the right. He is also wearing a short chiton. Both figures wear laced, calf-length, boots (Cat. no. 58). An unidentified fragment resembling a narrow band is depicted between the two figures.

Cat. no. 59: Panel 37

Height: 0.60m

Length: 0.52m

This panel depicts the remains of two men offering their hands in handshake. The figure on the left is wearing a long chiton and is leaning against a

⁴³Heres (1997) 109.

staff. Of the figure on the right only his right hand and part of his long chiton survives.

Cat. no. 60: Panel 38

Height: 1.14m

Length: 0.835m

Four standing male figures are depicted in this panel. The first three figures on the left, have their backs turned to a naked youth standing on the right of the panel. The first figure from the left is depicted frontally, holding a spear in his left hand; the other two are in profile. The figure in the centre is wearing a short chiton with short sleeves and a chlamys. He has his sword under his left arm. The other two figures, executed in lower relief, are overlapped by him. They are also wearing short chitons and chlamys. All three are wearing laced boots similar to those in panel 36; they have short curly hair. Behind the third figure from the left are traces of a pillar separating the three males from the naked youth.

The naked youth is standing on the right side of the panel with his back to the other three. He is smaller in scale to the rest of the figures. He is in repose, resting his weight on his right leg; left leg relaxed. In his raised left hand he is holding a jug. He is pouring something into a (now missing) bowl held in his extended right hand.⁴⁴ Traces of the upper torso of a seated male figure may be restored on the right edge of the panel.

Cat. no. 61: Panels 39-40

Height: 1.18m, 1.58m respectively

Length: 0.93m, 0.84m

Six male figures and one male servant are depicted in these panels. Five of the male figures are sitting on stools (Cat. no. 61.1-2); the sixth is standing in the background. Of the first seated figure from the left only fragments of his legs and cloak survive. With his left hand he is holding his cloak. The figure sitting next to him is also wearing a cloak. Only his lower part (from the thighs down) survives. He is leaning a long staff against his left shoulder. The third seated male has his cloak passed over his left shoulder; his right shoulder is bare. He is raising his right hand but it is cut off before the wrist.

The fourth male has his cloak wrapped around his waist and across his thighs (Cat. no. 61.2). He has a beard but his features are badly preserved. He is looking at the figure sitting next to him on the right. The last seated male is lifting his cloak exposing his left thigh. He is looking at his companions, whose attention seems to be concentrated on him. In the centre and in the background a young male

⁴⁴Fragment TI 256 had previously been restored in the place of the youth's right hand. However, Heres and Kästner now believe that the fragment is too long; Heilmeyer (1997) 164 Cat. no. 27.

is standing. He is wearing a sleeveless chiton, tied over both shoulders by a brooch. He is holding a spear with both hands.

The figure of a male servant is approaching from the right side of panel 40 (Cat. no. 61.2). He is wearing a short chiton with short sleeves, fastened by a belt. With his left hand he is carrying a wide, shallow basket filled with fruits or round cakes (Cat. no. 61.3). The basket has two short legs. Behind the figure of the servant and in the background is a column topped by an unidentified capital (Cat. no. 61.2).⁴⁵ On the right edge of panel 40 are the remains of the mantle of the figure from the following panel.

Cat. no. 62: Panel 42

Height: 0.91m Head of Agamemnon: Height: 0.225m

Length: 0.97m

Length: 0.27m

Telephos is sitting on a rectangular altar. His mantle is tied over his right shoulder and thrown over his back. He is holding baby Orestes under his left arm and is facing the spectator, his head turning down. Telephos has his right hand clenched in a fist (Cat. no. 62.3), threatening Orestes' life.

On the left side of the panel a young maiden is kneeling (Cat. no. 62.2). She has shoulder-length, curly hair. She is wearing a long sleeveless chiton, fastened below the chest by a girdle. With her left hand she is clutching her garment. Her forehead is furrowed and her eyes are wide (Cat. no. 62.3). She is looking at Telephos and Orestes. Over her head are the remains of Agamemnon. He is standing on the left side of the panel. He is wearing a long chiton and holding a staff in his left hand. He has short wavy hair and a beard. His forehead is furrowed and his mouth is open (Cat. no. 62.4).

Cat. no. 63: Panel 43

Height: 0.41m

Length: 0.75m

This quite fragmentary panel depicts the remains of a woman behind a pillar. She is wearing a mantle over her head and is looking to the left. Her head is tilting downwards. She is depicted behind a column which is topped by a Doric capital reaching to the frieze's cornice.

Cat. no. 64: Panel 44

Height: 1.58m

Length: 0.87m

On the left side of the panel a male figure is depicted looking to the left. He is wearing a long cloak passed over his left shoulder and wrapped around his waist. With his right arm he is holding his cloak (at the height of his chest). With his left

⁴⁵See Chapter 4, section 2 *Healing scene*.

hand he is lifting his cloak. He is resting his weight on his right leg; left leg relaxed. On his head he is wearing something that resembles a crown (Cat. no. 64.2). He is tilting his head downwards, looking at something at a lower level. Over his head there are traces of an unidentified semi-circular structure that continued in the previous (now lost) panel.

A young woman is standing behind him (Cat. no. 64.1). She has her back turned to the spectator and is wearing a long chiton tied over her left shoulder; exposing her entire right side. She is holding two torches and is also looking at the scene in the previous, now missing, panel. Her long hair is loosely held in a bun.

At the right edge of the panel a naked male figure is sitting on a rock. He has his back turned to the other two figures and is looking to the right. His face and right arm do not survive but his left arm is raised towards the female standing before him in panel 45 (Cat. no. 65). In the background and between the naked youth and the girl with the torches is a tall fluted column (Cat. no. 64.1). It has a square abacus and on top of it sits what is probably a small panther or lion, facing left.

Cat. no. 65: Panels 45-46

Height: 0.83m, 0.94m respectively

Length: 0.67m, 0.87m

The scene is taking place in a mountainous landscape. On the left side of panel 45 are the left arm and the legs of the figure seated in panel 44 (Cat. no. 64). He is extending his left hand towards the female standing before him. She is in repose, resting her weight on her left leg (Cat. no. 65.1); right leg relaxed. Her waist swings to the left, her upper body tilting to the right. She is wearing a long chiton and is wrapped in a mantle which is thrown over her left arm; her right arm does not survive. With her raised left hand she is holding the end of her mantle. She is standing between the seated male figure in panel 44 (Cat. no. 64) and another seated male in panel 46. His naked body is relaxed; upper torso slouching, arms resting on his thighs. He is turning his head to his left, looking at the female approaching the scene.

She is wearing a long, short-sleeved chiton (Cat. no. 65.1) and has her mantle wrapped around her waist. She is handing something over to the female who stands between the two seated figures. Her left hand is raised to the level of her face. A small maid-servant is following behind her. She is smaller in scale to the other figures. She is wearing a long sleeveless chiton and a himation fastened under her chest. She has long wavy hair, and is holding a *pyxis* with her right hand. She is tilting her head down. Her left arm is broken off.

Cat. no. 66: Panel 49

Height: 0.72m

Length: 0.97m

A woman is depicted in a *naiskos*. Only the upper part of her body survives. She is in profile view looking to the right at the scene taking place in the following panel (Cat. no. 67). She is wearing a chiton fastened under her chest by a girdle and a veil. Her left hand is holding the end of her mantle near her face (Cat. no. 66.1); her right hand does not survive. On her head she is wearing a crown-like head-piece. Outside the *naiskos* a bird is flying to the right (Cat. no. 66.2).⁴⁶

Cat. no. 67: Panel 50

Height: 1.10m

Length: 0.82m

The remains of five figures are depicted in this scene. Two male figures are placing a heavy cap-stone on a rectangular structure. The figure on the left is naked. He is depicted frontally, turning his head to the right. The other figure is wearing a short chiton with short sleeves, and a mantle over his back. His chiton is fastened by a girdle. He is standing in open stride; left foot forward.

On the right end of the panel are the remains of another figure approaching from the right. He is wearing a cloak wrapped around his waist and seems to be carrying something over his head; for his right arm raised above the head. Two reclining male figures are depicted in the foreground, sprawled on either side of the panel. The figure on the left (left leg only survives) is holding something over his knee with his left hand (Cat. no. 67.1). The reclining figure opposite him is wearing a long cloak wrapped around his waist. He has long curly hair and his right hand is raised. The rest of his body was depicted on the following (now missing) panel. He is turning his head to the right.

Cat. no. 68: Panel 47

Height: 0.94m

Length: 0.74m

This panel is a corner block as its bevelled right edge indicates (Cat. no. 68). A woman is depicted fleeing to the right. She wears a long sleeveless chiton fastened under her chest. She is advancing towards the right with her left foot forwards. With her raised right hand she is holding her flying mantle over her head. She has long wavy hair, part of which is still visible falling over her right shoulder. Her gaze and head are turned right towards something that was depicted in the previous non-surviving panel.

⁴⁶See Chapter 4, section 2 *Telephos' tomb*.

S/W spur wall

Cat. no. 69: Panel 48

Height: 1.57m

Length: 0.57m

This is a corner slab fitting the s/west spur wall (Cat. no. 69). Telephos is lying on a *kline*. Only the forefingers of the hero's right hand and part of his legs (from the knee down) survive. He is wearing a long cloak and has his right hand raised. His forefingers are pointing at something or someone in the previous (now lost) panel. A woman is standing at the end of his bed. She is wearing a long, sleeveless chiton and a mantle passed over her left shoulder and across her body. Her left foot is stepping on the base of Telephos' kline. Her right arm is raised towards him, her left by her side, palm open wide. She is looking behind her at what Telephos is pointing to. Her long curly hair falls loosely on her shoulders and back.

TABLE 1

Major events outlining Attalid military activity and alliances between the years 241 and 159 BC.

Dynasty: Philetairos: 283-263 BC

Eumenes I: 263-241 BC

Attalos I: 241-197 BC

Eumenes II: 197-159 BC

Attalos II: 159-139 BC

Attalos III: 139-133 BC¹

Aristonikos/Eumenes III: 133-129 BC

Military activity (between 241-159 BC)

Attalos I:

241-240 BC: versus the Tolistoagii Gauls at the sources of the river Kaikos; Livy 38.16; *AvP* I.1 137-138; *IvP* 20 *Round Base* monument on Pergamene acropolis.

240 BC: Attalos I receives the title Soter and is self-proclaimed King; *IvP* 43-45.

230s-229/8 BC: versus the combined forces of the usurper to the Seleukid throne Antiochos Hierax, and the Gallic tribes Tectosages, and Tolistoagii; *IvP* 21-28 (*Long Base*), 29 (Epigenes' monument), 247; *Pol.* 18.2.2; 18.6.4.

226-223 BC: versus Seleukos III and his generals who attempted to retrieve lands lost to Attalos from the previous war against Antiochos Hierax; *IvP* 35-36.

223-213 BC: continuous warfare with Achaïos (cousin of Antiochos III and self-declared king of the Seleukid kingdom, *Pol.* 8.20.11); *Pol.* books 4 and 5, esp. 5.77.2-78.6. In 218 BC Attalos employed the Aegosages Gauls as mercenaries; *Pol.* 5.111.3-4

ca. 219 BC: Attalos I joins the Aitolian League. The reasons for the alliance are not clear. However, the Attalids and Aitolians had a long standing relationship since the time of Philetairos: Philetairos paid for the defence of the Aitolian city Elaeus, (*Pol.* 4.65.6); A terrace and a small Stoa were built at Delphi in the 230s by Attalos I (*SIG* III 523; Allen 70-71). On the origins of their relationship see also McShane 101 n.20.

¹In 133 BC the kingdom of Pergamon was bequeathed to Rome by Attalos III; *IvP* 249 ll.5-7; Strabo 13.4.2 (624); Livy *Per.* 58-59; Sallust *Hist.* 4.61.8 (69 M); Pliny 33.148.

212/211 BC: Treaty between Rome and the Aitolian League which was later joined by Pergamon (ca. 210-9 BC). The alliance was formed to fetter the advances of Philip V of Macedon; Pol. 9.37.8, 39.4; 11.5.5; Livy 25.23.9; 26.24.8-13; 33.13.9-10; 31.46.3. Attalos is elected *Strategos autokrator* of the Aitolian League; Livy, 27.29.10; 27.30.1.

209-205 BC: Rome and the Aitolian League persuade Attalos I to participate in the First Macedonian War (211-205 BC) against Philip V; Pol. 9.30.7; 11.5.8; 22.8.9-10; Livy 27.30.11. In 205 BC Attalos was forced back to Pergamon as the city was attacked by Prusias of Bithynia; Livy 28.7.10. It has been argued that the attack was instigated by Philip V (Philip and Prusias were in-laws; Philip's daughter married to Prusias' son); Pol. 15.22.1; Livy 27.30.16. The war ended with the Peace of Phoenice in Epirus; Livy 29.12.13-16.

202-197 BC: Attalos participates in the Second Macedonian War, against Philip V, on the side of Rhodes. Philip was trying to control the sea-trade on the Hellespont; Pol. 16.2.10; 18.6.2; Livy 31.15.8. Philip's armada was destroyed at the battle of Chios; Pol. 16.3.7; IvP 52; *OGIS* 283 (the exact date is debated, see McShane 120 n.102). However, unable to contain Philip, Attalos and Rhodes asked for Rome's intervention in 200 BC; Pol. 16.24.3; Livy 31.2.1-2; Allen 73. Peace was concluded in 197/6 BC; Pol. 18.44.3-4; Livy 33.30.2-3. The peace terms seemed to favour the Rhodians and their allies rather than Pergamon. However, Thracian and Hellespontine cities were granted their freedom, something that must have pleased Pergamon as their control did not fall in any of its enemies.

Eumenes II:

195-192 BC: versus Nabis, king of Sparta, who attempted to subjugate some of Peloponnesos' coastal cities, and refused to grant freedom to the city of Argos as agreed in the treaty of Phoenice. Pergamon was allied with Aitolia and Rome; Livy 35.12.6-9; 35.13.2-3; 25.1-30.13; Plut. *Phil.* 14.2-15.2; Paus. 8.50.6, 10; Justin 31.3-4. Eumenes' participation in the war against Nabis offered him the opportunity to enter into an alliance with the Achaian League which proved its loyalty to the king when they relieved the siege of Pergamon by the Gauls during the following war with Antiochos III (190 BC; see next); Pol. 21.3b; Livy 37.20.1-3; 37.21.4; IvP 64.

192-188 BC: versus Antiochos III of Syria who showed interest in the Propontine cities and Thrace (Livy 35.12.15-18; 35.47.2-4, 48.1; 35.23.4-11) after receiving news from some anti-Roman Aitolian cities that they were ready to receive him as "Saviour of Greece" against Rome; Livy 35.43.2-6; 36.1.4-6 (Eumenes did not enter this alliance, even though he was offered a Seleukid princess for marriage, probably for fear of the resurgence of the Seleukid power at his kingdom's expense). Antiochos employed Gauls to devastate Pergamene territory in 190 BC. The siege of Pergamon ended with Achaian aid (Livy 37.18.6-8; Pol. 21.10.1). The war ended with the Peace of Apamea (188 BC) which

followed the battle at Magnesia on-the-Maeander (189 BC) where Antiochos, his Gallic, and Kappadokian mercenaries were defeated by the joined forces of Pergamon, Rome and the Achaian troops; Livy 37.18.6-8; 37.20.1-3; 37.31.4; IvP 64. *Apamea Treaty*: Antiochos was required to evacuate all cities north of the Taurus mountains and the Rhodian sphere. These cities were then classified in the separate arbitration decisions to be either immune from tribute or else tributary to Eumenes; Pol. 21.42.6; 21.45.2-3, 9-10; Livy 37.55.5-6; 37.52.55; Pol. 21.19.24; D.S. 29.10-11; see also McShane 143-147.

188-165 BC: Pergamene alliance with Kappadokia and Ariarathes IV. Until 189 BC Ariarathes was a faithful ally of Antiochos III. After the Treaty of Apamea he became ally of Eumenes through marriage (Eumenes married his daughter Stratonike); Pol. 24.14.9, 15.3-15; Strabo 12.2.11. The alliance ended with the death of Ariarathes.

186-183 BC: versus Prusias I of Bithynia who attacked the free cities of Pontic Herakleia and refused to grant Eumenes a portion of Mysia awarded him in the Treaty of Apamea. Prusias was joined by Ortiagon's Gauls, Philip V, and the exiled Hannibal. Their combined forces were defeated by the army and navy of Pergamon with its allied cities of n/w Asia Minor (e.g. Herakleia, Kyzikos). The defeated parties were compelled to sign peace terms favourable to Pergamon and Herakleia; M. Segre, "Due nuovi testi storici" *Riv.Fil.* 60 (1932) 446-452; Pol. 23.1.4; Livy 39.46.9; IvP 225.

183-179 BC: versus Pharnakes of Pontos and the Gallic tribes. They attacked the free cities of Sinope and Herakleia and threatened Kappadokia. Rome was asked to help but nothing happened. Pharnakes' forces were defeated by the joined forces of Prusias II of Bithynia, Eumenes II and Kappadokian troops; Pol. 25.2.1-13; 24.1.1-3; 24.5.1-8.

176-163 BC: Pergamene alliance with Antiochos IV Epiphanes, after Eumenes aided Antiochos regain his throne from the usurper Heliodoros; Appian *Syriaka* 45; IvP 160 p. 87 (= *OGIS* 248); Livy *Per.* 46. The alliance ended with the death of Antiochos IV.

172-168 BC: versus Perseus of Macedon (Third Macedonian War) who began his descent to Greece. Rome was asked to help. Assisted by Eumenes, the Romans defeated Perseus at the battle of Pydna; Livy 44.4.11; 28.8.9; 42.6.3; Pol. 2.11.12; 27.3; 27.1.1-13; McShane 179 n 6.

168-166 BC: versus Gauls. Pergamon asked for Rome's help but they were rudely rebuffed; Pol. 29.6.4; 30.19.1-13; DS. 31.12.13; Livy 45.34.10-14. Eumenes, joined by Antiochos IV of Syria and probably by Ariarathes IV of Kappadokia, defeated the Gauls in 166 BC; Pol. 30.30.4; 31.8.2; IvP 165.

TABLE 2
INSCRIPTIONS

The numbers to the left of the inscriptions correspond to the inscription numbers from "Die Inschriften von Pergamon" in *AvP* vol. 8.1. The inscriptions in bold refer to the names of gods and giants that can be reconstructed with certainty on the frieze.

Inscription number	Name of god	Inscription number	Name of giant
no.86	ΑΘ ΗΝΑ	no.112	ΑΛΛΗΚΤΟΣ
no.87	ΑΜΦΙΤΡΙΤΗ	no.113	ΒΡΟ....
no.88	ΑΡΗΣ	no.114	ΕΡΥΣΙΧΘΩΝ
no.89	[Α]Σ[Τ]ΕΡΙΗ	no.115	ΕΥΡΥΒΙΑΣ
no.90	ΑΦ[ΡΟ]Δ[ΙΤ]Η	no.73a	ΜΙΜ[ΑΣ
no.91	ΓΗ	no.71c	ΜΟΛΟΔΡΟΣ
no.92	ΔΙΩΝΗ	no.116	ΟΒΡΙΜΟΣ
no.93	Ε]ΝΥ[Ω	no.117	ΟΛΥΚΤΩΡ
no.94	ΕΥ...	no.118	ΟΥΔΑΙΟΣ
no.95	ΗΒ]Η	no.119	ΟΧΘΑΙΟ[Σ]
no.98	Η...	no.70a	ΠΑΛ]ΑΜΝΕΥΣ
no.97	ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ	no.70b	ΠΕΛ]ΩΡΕΥΣ
no.99	ΘΕΜΙΣ	no.120	ΣΘΕ]ΝΑΡΟΣ
no.100	ΚΛΩΘ[Ω	no.121	ΣΤΥ]ΦΕΛ[ΟΣ
no.101	Λ[ΗΤ]Ω	no.122	ΤΑ...
no.87a	ΝΗΡΕ[ΥΣ	no.123	ΦΑΡ]ΑΓ[Γ]ΕΥΣ
no.102	ΝΥ...	no.76a	ΧΑΡ]ΑΔΡΕΥΣ
no.103	ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ	no.124	ΧΘΟΝΟΦΥΛΟΣ
no.82a	ΣΑ[Τ]ΥΡΟ[Ι	no.125	...ΜΗΣ...
no.104	ΤΡΙΤΩΝ	no.71e	...ΝΕΥΣ
no.109	ΦΟ...	no.128	ΧΘ(Ω or Ο)Ν...
no.105	ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ	no.74a	...Η]Σ
no.106	...(Ο)Σ	no.71a	...ΥΞ...
no.107	...ΕΛ.. or ...ΕΑ	no.126	ΕΧΙ]ΩΝ
no.82b	...Σ	no.74b	...ΟΣ
no.110	...ΡΥ...	no.127	...Σ
no.111	...ΕΑ or ...ΣΑ		
no.108	...ΟΣ		
no.96a	Η..Α		

Estimated number of missing panels on the Telephos frieze

	Total Length (m)	Surviving Length (m)	Missing Length (m)	No of Panels	Completely Preserved Panels
NORTH	16	7.835	8.165	20	8
SOUTH	16	10.664	5.336	19	12
EAST	26	15.35	10.65	31	10
N. WEST	1.3	0	1.3	2	0
S. WEST	1.3	0.78	0.52	2	1

Individual lengths of completely preserved panels (* The numbers in parentheses correspond to panel numbers)

Example: North Side

	NORTH	SOUTH	EAST	S. WEST	TOTAL
	0.820 (2)	0.510 (36)	0.950 (16)	0.780 (48)	
	0.825 (3)	0.835 (38)	1.055 (17)		
	0.765 (5)	0.930 (39)	0.720 (18)		
	0.750 (6)	0.840 (40)	0.970 (20)		
	0.835 (10)	0.970 (42)	0.715 (21)		
	0.970 (11)	0.750 (43)	0.970 (51)		
	0.740 (12)	0.870 (43)	0.800 (28)		
	0.690 (8)	0.670 (44)	0.840 (30)		
		0.870 (46)	0.940 (34)		
		0.740 (47)	0.670 (35)		
		0.970 (49)			
		0.820 (50)			
TOTAL	6.395	9.775	8.630	0.780	25.580

Average Length of Complete Panels: 0.825 m (The Average Length is the sum of all lengths - 25.580 - divided by the number of completely preserved panels - 31)

Estimated maximum number of missing panels.

	Length of Completely Preserved Panels (m)	Missing Length (incl. surviving frgs.) (m)	Panels missing (m)
NORTH	6.395	9.605	11.642
SOUTH	9.775	6.225	7.545
EAST	8.630	17.37	21.055

The second column represents the Missing Length of each side, including the surviving fragments. It is the difference between the total length of the North, South and East frieze (16m, 16m and 26m respectively) and the total length of completely preserved panels for each frieze.

The third column estimates to three decimal places the number of missing panels by dividing the missing length of each side by the average length of wholly preserved panels.

Example: North Side

$$9.605 : 0.825 = 11.642$$

Estimated number of missing panels assuming that no two or more fragments belong in one missing panel.

	Confirmed No of Missing Panels	No of Partially Preserved Panels	No of Missing Panels
NORTH	12	2	10
SOUTH	7	1	6
EAST	21	13	8

The first column is identical to the third column of the previous table with the only difference that the numbers are presented as whole numbers.

The second column shows the number of surviving fragments attributed to each side.

The third column estimates the number of missing panels assuming that each fragment belongs to a different panel.

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